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Socialist National Convention.



THE second National Convention of the Socialist Party of America met at Brand's Hall, Clark and Erie Streets, Chicago, on Sunday, May 10, 1908, at 12:30 P. M. Morris Hillquit, of New York, was elected temporary chairman and Frederick Heath, of Wisconsin, temporary secretary. The Convention elected a Committee on Credentials and took a recess until 3:00 o'clock.

On reassembling it was found that the Committee on Credentials was not ready with its report and the Convention proceeded to a consideration of the report of the Committee on Rules, which had been previously appointed by the National Committee. This report called for the election of a considerable number of committees to consider different questions connected with the growth of the Socialist movement. A warm debate ensued as to whether some of these committees should not be dispensed with. The rules, as finally adopted, provided for the election of committees on Platform, Resolutions, Constitution, Women and Their Relation to the Socialist Party, Auditing, Ways and Means, Farmers' Program, Relations of Foreign Speaking Organizations, Trade Unions and Government by Commission.

The report of the Committee on Credentials showed that no very serious contests had been brought before the Convention. A Nebraska Socialist protested against the seating

of Victor Berger and Carl D. Thompson, of Wisconsin, and of John M. Work, of Iowa, on the grounds that they had violated the Constitution by interfering with the Nebraska organization. The committee advised the seating of these delegates and this portion of the report was adopted almost unanimously. Similar action was taken in the case of Delegates McDevitt, of California, and Goebel, of New Jersey, against whom protests were made. The cases of Nebraska and Washington were postponed for further consideration, but were later decided in favor of the delegates whose names appear in the list. The most important contest had to do with the Washington delegation. This was considered by the National Executive Committee at a special night session and its report was fully discussed at a session of the Convention at which Ray Hutchinson, representing the contestants, was allowed the floor and the Washington delegation was heard in reply. The conclusion reached by most of the delegates was that the Washington organization had for several years been weakened by internal dissension but that the trouble was nearly over and that only harm could be done by any interference in the affairs of the state on the part of the National Organization.

List of Delegates.

The delegates who took part in the Convention were as follows:

- Alabama:** Thos. W. Freeman, F. X. Waldhorst.
- Arkansas:** Dan Hogan, E. W. Perrin, Wm. Penrose, J. Sam Jones, Wells Le Fevre, W. R. Snow.
- Arizona:** Jos. D. Cannon, J. M. Morrison.
- California:** W. S. Bradford, Wm. McDevitt, F. I. Wheat, G. W. Woodbey, H. C. Tuck, Josephine R. Cole, Mary F. Merrill, J. B. Osborne, Cloudsley Johns, Harry M. McKee, Kasper Bauer, Bertha W. Starkweather.
- Colorado:** T. L. Buie, L. E. Floaten, Mila Tupper Maynard, Guy E. Miller.
- Connecticut:** William Scheildge, Alfred W. Smith.
- Delaware:** Frank Hauch.
- Florida:** A. J. Pettigrew.
- Georgia:** Max Wilke.
- Idaho:** Ernest Untermann, E. L. Rigg, John Chenoweth.
- Illinois:** John Collins, J. O. Bentall, B. Berlyn, Jas. H. Brower, G. T. Fraenkel, Gertrude B. Hunt, S. A. Knopfnagel, A. M. Lewis, Thos. J. Morgan, Charles H. Kerr, May Wood Simons, Seymour Stedman, E. E. Carr, A. M. Simons.
- Indiana:** F. W. Strickland, S. M. Reynolds, Robin Dunbar, Otto Kunath.
- Iowa:** Edw. J. Rohrer, Margret M. Brown, John M. Work, W. C. Hills, John E. Shank.

Kansas: B. F. Wilson, J. E. Snyder, Erwin S. McAllister, Grace D. Brewer, Ludwig E. Katterfeld.

Kentucky: Frank E. Seeds.

Louisiana: Alex Hymes.

Maine: Willis E. Pelsey.

Maryland: H. Claude Lewis, Wm. A. Toole.

Massachusetts: James F. Carey, C. C. Hitchcock, Antoinette Konikow, Dan White, Eliot White, Patrick Mahoney, Squire E. Putney, Harriet D'Orsey, George G. Cutting, Alva E. Fenton.

Michigan: Guy H. Lockwood, Mrs. Etta Menton, Tom Hittunen, A. M. Stirton.

Minnesota: L. D. Rose, Thos. J. Peach, M. Kaplan, J. G. Maattala, Elias Thorsett, Ester Nieminen, Jas. S. Ingalls, Guy Williams, Jules J. Anderson, John Macke.

Missouri: William L. Garver, G. A. Hoehn, Wm. M. Brandt, Landers G. Pope, E. T. Behrens, P. H. Callery, Caleb Lipscomb.

Montana: Jas. D. Graham, Ida Crouch Hazlett, Florence Westleder, Geo. Ambrose, John Price, Arthur P. Harvey, John Powers.

Nebraska: G. C. Porter.

Nevada: Grant Miller.

New Hampshire: William H. Wilkins, Louis Arnstein.

New Jersey: G. H. Goebel, H. R. Kearnes, W. B. Killingeek, Fred Krafft, G. H. Stroebe, J. M. Reilly.

New Mexico: W. P. Metcalf.

New York: U. Solomon, Jos. Wanhope, Morris Hillquit, Algeron Lee, Thos. J. Lewis, Henry L. Slobodin, Fred Paulitsch, Sol Fieldman, Robert Hunter, Ben Hanford, Julius Gerber, C. L. Furman, C. H. Vander Porten, Mark Peiser, John Spargo, W. E. Cole, Gustave Strebel, W. Fuhrman, August Klenke.

North Carolina: J. J. Quantz.

North Dakota: F. S. Lampman, H. S. Anderson.

Ohio: Marguerite Prevey, Isaac Cowan, Robert Bandlow, Fred Vautrin, Ellis O. Jones, E. J. Zeigler, E. L. Rodgers, Max Hayes, Thos. Devine.

Oklahoma: John Hagel, O. F. Branstetter, C. C. Ross, G. W. Davis, Winnie E. Branstetter, L. S. Edwards, C. H. Dome, Carrie C. Block, W. B. Reynolds, C. B. Boylan, J. G. Wills, F. P. O'Hare.

Oregon: F. C. Varner, R. R. Ryan, C. W. Barzee, Mrs. Mollie Crabtree, B. F. Ramp.

Pennsylvania: William Adams, Sam Clark, Joseph E. Cohen, George N. Cohen, Edwin W. Davis, Con F. Foley, James H. Maurer, Edward Moore, Robert B. Ringler, John W. Slayton, Fred L. Schwartz, Daniel Kissam Young, Louis Goagiou.

Rhode Island: Fred Hurst.

South Dakota: E. Francis Atwood, Freeman Knowles.

Tennessee: Dr. Jos. E. Voss.

Texas: Alice McFadin, H. L. A. Holman, W. J. Bell, Laura B. Payne, Stanley J. Clark, M. A. Smith, W. W. Buchanan, J. C. Rhodes, J. C. Thompson.

Utah: G. Syphers, Robert Leggett.

Vermont: Lawrence Albert Wilson.

Virginia: A. H. Dennett.

Washington. Emil Herman, Emil Hendrickson, E. J. Brown, Alfred Wagenknecht, Richard Kruger, John Downie, George E. Boomer E. E. Martin.

West Virginia: H. W. Houston.

Wisconsin: Winfield R. Gaylord, Frank J. Weber. E. H. Thomas, E. T. Melms, Victor L. Berger, Carl D. Thompson, Emil Seidel, Frederick Heath, C. Sandburg, W. A. Jacobs.

Wyoming: H. Grosbeck, W. L. O'Neill, J. H. Ryckman.

Monday Session.

Carey, of Massachusetts, was elected chairman, and Guy E. Miller, of Colorado, obtaining the floor on a question of personal privilege, proposed the sending of a telegram to the Western Federation of Miners. Hillquit, of New York, moved that this telegram and all other resolutions coming before the Convention be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. A warm debate ensued, Miller pleading for immediate action on the sending of the telegram, while most of the delegates taking part in the debate urged that the work of the Convention could be done far more satisfactorily by keeping to the regular order of business. The motion to refer the telegram to the Committee on Resolutions was finally carried by a vote of 93 to 92. The remainder of the day's session was taken up with a discussion of the report of the Committee on Rules, the election of the Platform Committee and the nomination of delegates to serve on the remaining committees. Tickets for the election of these committees were ordered printed to be placed in the hands of the delegates on the following day.

Tuesday Session.

The chairman for Tuesday was J. W. Slayton, The greater portion of the day's proceedings were taken up with the contest from the State of Washington, the result of which has already been given. The most important action of Tuesday was the election of the standing committees with the exception of the Platform Committee elected Monday. The membership of these committees was as follows:

Platform: A. M. Simons, Illinois; Morris Hillquit, New York; James F. Carey, Massachusetts; Ernest Untermann, Idaho; Stanley J. Clark, Texas; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; John M. Work, Iowa; Guy E. Miller, Colorado; O. F. Branstetter, Oklahoma.

Resolutions: John Spargo, New York; J. C. Rhodes, Texas; M. Kaplan, Minnesota; Gustav Hoehn, Missouri; Benjamin Wilson, Kansas; Charles H. Kerr, Illinois; Edward

Moore, Pennsylvania; H. A. Kearns, New Jersey; Alfred Wagenknecht, Washington; Elizabeth H. Thomas, Wisconsin.

Constitution: Winfield R. Gaylord, Wisconsin; Caleb Lipscomb, Missouri; J. E. Snyder, Kansas; Barnard Berlyn, Illinois; A. E. Fenton, Massachusetts; H. L. Slobodin, New York; Fred Krafft, New Jersey; W. J. Bell, Texas; R. Bauer, California.

Committee on Women and their Relationship to the Socialist Party: Gertrude B. Hunt, Illinois; Josephine R. Cole, California; Mila Tupper Maynard, Colorado; Antoinette Konikow, Massachusetts; Marguerite Prevey, Ohio; Solomon Fieldman, New York; Grace D. Brewer, Kansas; Laura B. Payne, Texas; Winnie Branstetter, Oklahoma.

Committee on Press: W. A. Jacobs, Wisconsin; Ellis O. Jones, Ohio; Ida Crouch-Hazlett, Montana; May Wood Simons, Illinois; J. W. Slayton, Pennsylvania.

Auditing: Mark Preiser, New York; W. L. Garver, Missouri; George E. Boomer, Washington; W. W. Buchanan, Texas; Daniel Kissam Young, Pennsylvania.

Ways and Means: Charles Sandburg, Wisconsin; G. W. Davis, Oklahoma; Fred L. Schwartz, Pennsylvania; M. A. Smith, Texas; Stephen M. Reynolds, Indiana; E. W. Perrin, Arkansas; Wm. H. Brandt, Missouri; T. L. Buie, Colorado; Julius Gerber, New York; Harriet D'Orsay, Massachusetts.

Farmers' Program: Carl D. Thompson, Wisconsin; C. W. Barzee, Oregon; J. G. Wills, Oklahoma; Seymour Stedman, Illinois; E. L. Rigg, Idaho; E. J. Rohrer, Iowa.

Relation to Foreign Speaking Organizations: Louis Goaziou, Pennsylvania; U. Solomon, New York; Thomas Hittunen, Michigan; Ester Nieminen, Minnesota; Samuel A. Knopfnagel, Illinois.

Labor Organizations: F. J. Weber, Wisconsin; Algernon Lee, New York; Robert Bandlow, Ohio; Grant Miller, Nevada; G. A. Hoehn, Missouri; Thomas J. Morgan, Illinois; S. M. Reynolds, Indiana; James G. Graham, Montana.

Government by Commission: Isaac Cowan, Ohio; John Hagel, Oklahoma; H. Tuttle, Wisconsin; George H. Strobel, New Jersey; George H. Ambrose, Montana; W. C. Hills, Iowa; J. O. Bentall, Illinois.

Wednesday Session.

Seymour Stedman, of Illinois, was elected chairman. The day was devoted mainly to the report of the Committee on Resolutions. John Spargo, the chairman of the committee, offered a partial report which was acted on seriatim as read. The first recommendation of the Convention was that the

telegram offered by Guy E. Miller at the Monday session be sent to the Western Federation of Miners.

The Convention thereupon decided to send the telegram, the full text of which is as follows:

"Ernest Mills, Secretary, Western Federation of Miners,
605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.

The Socialist Party in convention assembled sends greetings to the Western Federation of Miners. We congratulate you upon the splendid battle and final vindication of your organization. We condemn with you the use of federal troops to destroy a labor organization as in Alaska. We are with you until Adams and the last of the victims of the Pinkertons are out from the prison pens of poverty into the sunlight of economic freedom."

The Convention next recommended the adoption of the following resolution on

The Alcohol Question.

"We recognize the evils that arise from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic and adulterated liquors and we declare that any excessive use of such liquors by the working class postpones the day of the final triumph of our cause. But we hold that these evils can not be cured by an extension of the police power of the capitalist state. Alcoholism is a disease and can best be remedied by doing away with the under-feeding, over-work and over-worry which result from the capitalist system." This resolution was received with loud applause and adopted unanimously.

A Letter to President Roosevelt.

At a previous session, Delegate Hoehn, of Missouri, had obtained the floor on a question of privilege and had proposed that the Convention send to President Roosevelt an open letter which he began reading to the Convention. He had been ruled out of order and the proposed letter had been referred to the Committee on Resolutions. It now came up for action. Delegate Spargo in his talk criticised the letter severely and stated that if it were sent to the President, it would make the Convention a laughing stock. He therefore recommended on behalf of the committee that the letter be laid on the table without reading. Delegate Hoehn protested against this action and insisted that the letter be read. This was done and a hot debate followed. Arthur M. Lewis, of Illinois, made some criticisms on the language of the letter,

which were resented by Delegate Hoehn and also by Delegates Cowan, of Ohio, Laura Payne, of Texas, and Benjamin Hanford, of New York. These delegates spoke in a way to imply that a certain antagonism was developing between the "intellectuals" and the "proletarians" of the Convention. A motion was made to refer the letter to a special committee of three to be edited with a view to sending it to President Roosevelt. Delegate Spargo closed the debate in a five minute speech in which he made it clear that his objection to the letter was based not on its literary style but on the confused ideas of the letter which in more than one passage carried the implication that Roosevelt was on the side of the working class but was thwarted in his good intentions by Congress and the trusts. The motion to send the letter to a committee was lost by a vote of 80 to 101 and the motion to send the letter to the President was lost by a decided majority, no division being taken.

Thursday Session.

Stanley J. Clark, of Texas, was elected chairman, and the first order of business was the report of the Committee on Organized Labor. The committee recommended the adoption of the following address:

Socialism and Organized Labor.

"The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage-earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

"The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

"The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage-worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

"Organized labor is to-day confronted as a class by a great crisis. The capitalists intoxicated with wealth and power and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class have undertaken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations. In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska, and elsewhere, law and non-violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been instituted have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.

"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the laws to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under the pretense of their being labor trusts.

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

"In the Danbury hatters' case the United States Supreme court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous 'Dred Scott decision' of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the Anti-Trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasuries, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

"By this decision the Supreme court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

"At this critical moment the Socialist party calls upon all organized workmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election day.

"Workingmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor and of the Socialist party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule.

Morris Kaplan, of Minnesota, criticised the resolutions on the ground that they did not definitely recognize the principles of Industrial Unionism, and in the midst of a discussion in which many delegates took part, McDevitt, of California, moved as an amendment the insertion of the third paragraph of the following:

"But we realize that it is the duty of the Socialist Party to point out to the workers that the industrial form of organization is the best suited to develop the working class solidarity necessary to the success of organized labor under the present methods of production."

The amendment was finally lost and the report of the committee adopted. The only vote on which a division was taken resulted in the committee being sustained by a vote of 143 to 43. The trend of the discussion showed clearly that the object of the committee was to uphold the traditional policy of the Socialist Party in co-operating with all labor organizations without antagonizing any of them. The delegates voting in the minority, (the editor of the Review among them), desired to put the Convention on record as recognizing the fact that industrial unionism is an economic necessity under the changed economic conditions, while the majority of the delegates took the view that any expression of this subject would be an invasion of the sphere of action belonging to the labor organizations rather than the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Unity Question.

On the question of unity with the Socialist Labor Party, Chairman Spargo presented a brief report agreed to by six out of nine members of the Committee on Resolutions, declaring it unwise to take any steps toward organic unity with the Socialist Labor Party at this time, but inviting members of that organization to join the Socialist Party as individuals. The chairman also presented two minority reports. One of these signed by Morris Kaplan and Charles H. Kerr, expressed gratification at the action of the Socialist Labor Party in proposing unity but stated that it would be inexpedient in

the midst of the presidential campaign to expend the energy of our party members on the terms of unity and referred the matter to the several states for such action as they might see fit to take. The second minority report, signed by Alfred Wagenknecht, differed from the first in that it provided for the election of a committee of seven to confer with a similar committee from the Socialist Labor Party not earlier than January 1909. After considerable discussion both minority reports were rejected and the report of the majority was adopted.

An evening session was held. The first two hours were taken up with a discussion of the first part of the Preamble of the National Platform, the full text of which appears elsewhere in this issue of the Review. The Convention then voted to proceed with the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president, and Callery, of Missouri, in a stirring speech placed in nomination the name of Eugene V. Debs. This name was received with tremendous cheers from all parts of the crowded hall. Seymour Stedman nominated A. M. Simons, of Illinois, Victor Berger nominated Carl D. Thompson, of Wisconsin, and Ida Crouch-Hazlet nominated James F. Carey, of Massachusetts. The vote resulted as follows: Debs, 152; Thompson, 16; Carey, 17; Simons, 9. On motion of Victor Berger, the nomination was made unanimous amid great enthusiasm.

The Convention then proceeded to the nomination of a candidate for vice-president, and Guy E. Miller offered the name of Ben. Hanford, of New York, which was received with applause almost equal to that called out by the name of Debs. Several other names were offered to the Convention. The vote was as follows: Ben. Hanford, 106; Seymour Stedman, 43; May Wood Simons, 20; John W. Slayton, 12; Caleb Lipscomb, 1; G. W. Woodbey, 1. On the motion of Seymour Stedman the nomination of Hanford was made unanimous and the Convention adjourned at 2:00 A. M., weary but enthusiastic.

Friday Session.

Robert Bandlow, of Ohio, was elected chairman of the Convention, and John Spargo of the Committee on Resolutions took the floor. The first resolution presented by him was that on Immigration. It had been adopted by a unanimous vote of the Committee on Resolutions after giving a hearing to those favoring and those opposing a declaration for Asiatic exclusion. The resolution was as follows:

"The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares that the fundamental principle of Socialism is the struggle between the exploiting and exploited classes. The controlling principle of the political Socialist movement is the economic interest of the workers.

"In conformity with this principle the National Convention of the Socialist Party affirms that the working class must protect itself against whatever imperils its economic interests. The mass importation by the capitalist class of foreign workers with lower standards of living than those generally prevailing may in some instances become as serious to the working class of the nation as an armed invasion would be to the nation itself.

"To deny the right of the workers to protect themselves against injury to their interests caused by the competition of imported foreign laborers whose standard of living is materially lower than their own is to set a bourgeois Utopian ideal above the class struggle.

"This principle compels us to resolutely oppose all immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the capitalist class, and all contract labor immigration, as well as to support all attempts of the workers to raise their standards of living. It does not, however, commit the Socialist Party to any attitude upon specific legislation, looking to the exclusion of any race or races as such.

"The question of racial differences involved in the agitation for the exclusion of Asiatic immigrants this convention does not feel itself competent to decide upon at this time in the absence of a scientific investigation of the matter.

"Therefore, we recommend that in view of the great importance of this subject to the life of the workers of the nation, a special committee of five members be elected at this convention to carefully study and investigate the whole subject of immigration, in all its aspects, racial no less than economic, to publish from time to time such data as they may gather, and to report to the next convention of the party.

After a long discussion a motion to amend the resolution so as to include an explicit declaration against any Asiatic immigration was voted down and the report of the committee was adopted.

Farmers' Program.

A majority and a minority report were offered by the Committee on a Farmers' Program and after a long discussion the minority report signed by Delegate Barzee, of Oregon, was adopted.

"We recognize the class struggle and the necessity of united action among the world's workers of every vocation as against the capitalist class exploitation.

"The Socialist Party stands for construction and not destruction, for advancement and not retrogression, and thereby pledges to the small farmer protection through the Socialization of the national industries, in the production for use and not for profit.

"We therefore recommend that the farmers study the economics of co-operative social system as against the individual competitive system, and ally his political power in the struggle for existence,

with the party of his class. But we insist that any attempt to pledge to the farmers anything, but a complete socialization of the industries of the nation, would be unsocialistic."

The discussion turned mainly on the question of whether special measures should be advocated in the interest of the farm owner, and the view taken by the majority of the delegates was that we should rather aim to convince the farmer that his interests are bound up with the interests of the whole working class.

Debate on Platform.

The remaining hours of the afternoon and the evening sessions were taken up with a discussion of the immediate demands which make up the last section of the Platform. This as will be seen from the full text printed elsewhere in this issue of the Review, is divided into three principal parts. The first two were adopted with little discussion and almost unanimously. It was agreed by the Convention to take up the political program, with which the Platform closes, section by section. The first section as originally reported to the Convention read as follows:

First. National ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamships and all other means of transportation and communication.

Delegate Furman, of New York, moved that before the word "railroad" in this paragraph "all land" be inserted. An interesting discussion followed, in which Delegates Work, of Iowa, Thompson, of Wisconsin, Simons, of Illinois, and Hoehn, Missouri, opposed the amendment, which was advocated by Delegates Clark, of Texas, Slobodin, of New York, and Herman, of Washington. The amendment was defeated, but a subsequent amendment to substitute the words "collective ownership" for "national ownership" was carried.

Socialism and Religion.

The most exciting debate of the whole Convention occurred on Friday afternoon, when Arthur M. Lewis moved to strike out from the list of immediate demands the resolution that religion is a private matter. His reason for objecting to the paragraph was that if adopted, it might have been used as a plea for limiting freedom of discussion among Socialists on subjects connected with religion. Many of the delegates who took part in the discussion agreed with Lewis that the paragraph had no place in a Socialist program, but some feared that to strike out the paragraph might be interpreted as a declaration against religion. The question was finally settled

by adopting a substitute offered by Hillquit, of New York, which substituted for the paragraph a clause to be added to the declaration of principles and to read as follows:

"The Socialist movement is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with religious beliefs."

The discussion on the question of religion extended into the evening session and the remainder of that session was mainly taken up with a discussion of the plank providing for the relief of the unemployed. Fieldman, of New York, and Hurst, of Rhode Island, advocated a resolution providing in considerable detail for public works to be carried on by the National Government and also for loans to states and municipalities to be expended in public works, the funds to be furnished by the issue of legal tender money. The decision of the Convention was that it would be unwise to go into elaborate details which if carried out would be under the supervision of the present capitalistic government.

Saturday Session.

Frank I. Wheat, of California, was elected chairman, and the report of the Committee on Platform was again taken up. Osborne, of California, moved that the entire list of immediate demands be stricken out and the following plank be substituted.

"The Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct, viz: Will this legislation advance the interest of the working class, and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it is in the interest of the working class, the Socialist Party is in favor of it; if it is against the interests of the working class, the Socialist Party is opposed to it."

A full discussion ensued and the amendment was rejected by a vote of 45 to 128. The view held by the majority of the delegates was that it would be more democratic for the representatives of the Party to deliberate as to what measures are for and what are against the interests of the working class than to leave the decision to Socialists who might be elected to office.

The Platform was then adopted as a whole. A committee of three, Berger, Lee and Simons, were elected to revise its literary style before publication. It is printed in this issue of the Review as revised.

The Party Constitution.

The report of the Committee on Constitution was then taken up and acted on section by section. As the Constitution adopted was substantially the same as the present Constitution of the Party, we do not print it in full but merely comment on the most important amendments proposed by the Convention. A clause was added providing that every applicant for membership in the Socialist Party shall sign a pledge recognizing the class struggle and endorsing the Platform and Constitution of the Party, including political action. An amendment proposed by Ida Crouch-Hazlett of Montana was adopted by the Convention to read as follows:

"Any person who opposes political action as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from the Party."

It is worth while observing that this clause was adopted after a hot debate and represented the emotion of the delegates rather than their judgment. Other clauses were adopted giving the states exclusive jurisdiction over their members and a clause which had been prepared by the committee to provide a definite plan of action to be taken when a state violated the Constitution was voted down. It will thus be seen that this clause providing for the expulsion of any members opposed to political action has been made impossible of enforcement and could only be a dead letter if confirmed by a referendum vote.

A section was adopted requiring three years' consecutive membership in order to qualify for all National positions.

A section was adopted providing that no motion be submitted to a referendum of the National Committee by correspondence unless supported within thirty days by not less than five members of the National Committee from three different states.

A section was adopted providing that the National Executive Committee shall hereafter be elected by the National Committee from the membership of the Party. There was a warm debate over the adoption of this clause. Many of the newer members who argued from theory rather than from practice urged that the Executive Committee should be elected by referendum of the membership as at present. It was, however, pointed out that all acts of the National Executive Committee are subject to revision by the National Committee and that much greater efficiency could be secured by having the smaller committee under the direct control of the larger one.

Sunday Session.

Carl D. Thompson of Wisconsin was elected chairman and after hearing a report from Comrade Mance, the fraternal delegate from Canada, the Convention resumed the consideration of the Constitution. A section was adopted providing that the National Secretary be elected by the National Committee. A provision was adopted for a National Congress to be held in each even numbered year when no presidential election occurs for the purpose of considering questions related to the organization and propaganda of the Party.

It was decided to continue the present arrangement of paying the travelling expenses of delegates to all National Conventions from the National treasury and to raise this money by a special assessment levied equally on all members. It was furthermore provided that no delegate hereafter shall be allowed voice or vote in the Convention until the assessments from his state shall have been paid in full.

The entire Constitution as adopted by the Convention is to be submitted section by section to a referendum by the membership of the Party and if adopted the new Constitution is to go into effect the first of January 1909.

The Woman Suffrage Question.

The Committee on the Relation of Women to the Socialist Movement then presented its report by Mila Tupper Maynard, the chairman. She explained that the plank on woman suffrage in the platform already adopted had been drafted by the Women's Committee and that this was the only official declaration thought desirable. She then read the text of the report as follows:

"The national committee of the Socialist party has already provided for a special organizer and lecturer to work for equal civil and political rights in connection with the Socialist propaganda among women, and their organization in the Socialist party.

"This direct effort to secure the suffrage to women increases the party membership and opens up a field of work entirely new in the American Socialist party. That it has with it great possibilities and value for the party, our comrades in Germany, Finland and other countries have abundantly demonstrated.

"The work of organization among women is much broader and more far-reaching than the mere arrangement of tours for speakers. It should consist of investigation and education among women and children, particularly those in the ranks of labor, in or out of labor unions, and to the publication of books, pamphlets and leaflets, especially adapted to this field of activity.

"To plan such activity requires experience that comes from direct contact with an absorbing interest in the distinct feature of woman's economic and social conditions, and the problem arising therefrom.

"For this reason the committee hereby requests this convention to take definite action on this hitherto neglected question. We ask that it make provision to assist the Socialist women of the party in explaining and stimulating the growing interest in Socialism among women and to aid the women comrades in their efforts to bring the message of Socialism to the children of the proletariat, we recommend the following:

"1st, that a special committee of five be elected to care for and manage the work of organization among women.

"2d, that sufficient funds be supplied by the party to that committee to maintain a woman organizer constantly in the field as already voted.

"3d, that this committee co-operate directly with the national headquarters and be under the supervision of the national party.

"4th, that this committee be elected by this national convention, its members to consist not necessarily of delegates to this convention.

"5th, that all other moneys needed to carry on the work of the woman's committee outside of the maintenance of the special organizers, be raised by the committee.

"6th, that during the campaign of 1908 the women appointed as organizers be employed in states now possessing the franchise."

Minority Report.

This report was signed by all members of the committee except Laura Payne of Texas, who then presented her minority report as follows:

"The Socialist movement is the political expression of the working class regardless of sex, and its platform and program furnish ample opportunity for propaganda work both by and among men and women when we are ready to take advantage of it. The same blow necessary to strike the chains from the hands of the working man will also strike them from the hands of the working woman.

"Industrial development and the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution of wealth have forced women and children into the mills and factories, mines, workshops and fields along with the men, dependent for job and wage on the master class. Into that mart of trade they go to sell their labor power, and when for no reason whatever they cannot find a market for it they must seek other means of support. Driven to the last resort, men often become criminals or vagabonds, while women, for food, clothing and shelters, sell themselves and go to recruit the ranks of the fallen.

"Whether it be economic slavery to this extent—or whether it be within the bounds of the possibility of an honorable life—the cause is the same, namely, the private ownership of the means by which they must live.

"It is contended by some that women because of their disfranchisement and because of their economic dependence on men, bear a different relationship to the Socialist movement from that of the men. That is not so. The economic dependence of our men, women and children—whether to a greater or less extent—can be traced to the same cause, which Socialism will alone remove.

"In regard to the ballot in some of our states the men are disfranchised, or practically so, by property qualifications and other

requirements for voting, and it seems to this committee that you would just as well waste time in trying to regulate those things as in waging a special suffrage campaign for women.

"There is only one thing, and one only, that will remove these evils and that is Socialism, and the nearest way to it is to concentrate all our efforts—men and women working together side by side in the different states and locals, with an eye single to the main issue, The Class Struggle!

"Therefore, my comrades of this convention, I respectfully submit the following resolution:

"Resolved, that there be a special effort on the part of the speakers and organizers in the Socialist party of America to interest the women and induce them to work in the locals of the respective states, side by side with the men as provided in our platform, and constitution; and be it further

"Resolved, that great care shall be taken not to discriminate between men and women or take any step which would result in a waste of energy and perhaps in a separate woman's movement."

In the discussion which ensued most of the speakers held that it was advisable to carry on a propaganda among women in which should be enlisted the support of those desiring suffrage. Delegate Payne said that most of the work on behalf of women suffrage in various places assumed very much the character of "parlor pink teas." The minority report was rejected by a vote of 35 to 70. The majority report was then adopted and a permanent committee was elected consisting of May Wood Simons, Antoinette Konikow, Marguerite Prevey, Winnie Branstetter and Meta Stein. The reports of the committees on Press, Auditing, Government by Commission and Foreign Speaking Organizations were adopted with little discussion. A permanent committee on a Farmers' Program consisting of Simons, Herman, Lee, Wheat and Thompson was elected. A committee to investigate the Immigration Question was elected consisting of Untermann, Berger, Wanhope, Spargo and Guy Miller.

Before the motion to adjourn sine die was made, Spargo of New York said: "I suppose we are all agreed that we want to go home. It is well that, having worked hard for eight days, we should end our convention in as good spirit as that with which we began. I am satisfied that when we get back home and have time to forget our tired nerves and have had time to think more calmly of our personal differences here, that each of us will look back to this convention as one of the greatest privileges in each of our lives.

"I believe sincerely, and I am not making the conventional statement usual to such occasions, that we shall admit ten years from now that the convention of 1908 practically marked the birth of the Socialist movement as a political party

of the working class in this country. I am not going to ask you to listen to any sort of an address now, but I ask you, comrades to rise and join in three cheers for Socialism and the Socialist Party."

The convention then adjourned sine die, after three rousing cheers for Socialism.

CHARLES H. KERR.

Socialism and Mysticism.



THE PRESENT ESSAY is addressed to thinking Socialists.

The writer is fully conscious of touching upon dangerous ground. We know that mysticism has a strong hold on many a collectivist, that certain sentiments and ideals of religious origin are dear to the heart of many a true and sincere friend of the proletariat. We are aware that most of the Socialist leaders are convinced that it would be a fatal mistake to identify militant Socialism with militant Free-thought. We are likewise not unmindful of the fact, that many Socialists are of the opinion that the modern proletarian movement is but a bread and butter affair. And yet we do think, that the so-called "Christian Socialist", the Socialist tactician and even the extreme materialist in the Socialist Movement can well afford, and in fact are in duty bound, to tolerate a discussion of the relation between the great modern proletarian movement, and the cycle of ideas and ideals identified with mysticism in the pages of a magazine devoted to International Socialist Thought.

Socialists ought not to have any Tabu, any forbidden ground, as long as they are struggling for truth and knowledge and against ignorance and superstition.

Middle class Free-thought publications in the United States like the "Freidenker" and "Truthseeker" publish Socialist contributions constantly. Should we socialists be less broadminded and tolerant than the bourgeois?

We do not advocate the adoption of an anti-religious plank in our National Platform.

We do not even consider it necessary that *Socialists as such* should take a negative attitude toward religion in their propaganda work and agitation literature.

All we stand for is the elucidation of the organic relation between the philosophy of Socialism, and the cycle of ideas and ideals of mysticism, religion and especially **Christianity as revealed in History.**

We do not by any means claim to monopolize the truth on

the subject and will welcome any honest and dispassionate expression of opinion diametrically opposed to our own.

Truth can only gain through discussion *sine irâ et studio*.

The International Socialist Review is a free forum for all honest Socialist thought and its Editorial Staff is not responsible for the opinions of outside contributions.

THE COMMON ENEMY.

Religion the foe alike of the Freethinker and of the Socialist.

The term religion admits of several interpretations. However vague and hazy the term religion may be in the popular mind, to the critical thinker religion appears as a psychological (a German would say "Voelker-psychologisch") growth of two principal aspects.

Religion comprises, on one hand, a theory of the universe at large, a cosmogony; and, on the other hand, a system of conduct in every day life, ethics.

The religious cosmogony is demolished to such an extent by natural sciences as to present in our distressingly sober age a rather pitiful, although somewhat quaint and picturesque, ruin. No amount of modernization by so-called "higher criticism" (whatever that term may mean) can restore the barbaric splendor of this ruin. To galvanize a corpse does not mean to restore it to life. The system of conduct identified in the popular mind with religion is vital, not on account of its connection with religion, but rather in spite of its religious appendage. It is morality by and for itself, ethics *per se*, that lends dignity and meaning to religion, and not religion to morality. Morality is an antecedent of religion. Ethics are as old as life on earth.

As soon as the germs of gregarious life in the animal kingdom developed to such an extent as to surpass excessive tendencies of individual variation (centrifugal, anarchic tendencies) in the interests of the survival of the species (centripetal, archic tendencies); as soon as the first rudiments of "consciousness of kind" triumphed over the primordial consciousness of self—a system of conduct of individuals composing the species (social aggregate) toward each other, started to evolve. Morality, ethics, is a sub-human institution, a purely biological phenomenon. Morality is the expression of the interests of the social aggregate, as opposed to the narrowly understood individual interests. All conduct tending toward the conservation and furthering of the interests of the social aggregate is considered as good and praiseworthy, heroic and noble by this aggregate; and vice versa, all conduct tending towards impairing the interests of the social aggregate, is

considered by this unit as bad, blameworthy, cowardly, and mean. Hence the relativity and changeability of all moral conceptions in space and time.

The higher an animal species stands on the evolutionary ladder, the more developed and pronounced is its "consciousness of kind", the more strict is the subjection of the individual will to the will of the aggregate or social unit, the higher is its morality.

The human race is the most gregarious, the most social of all animal species, as it is physically one of the weakest and, individually, the most helpless of all animal species. It has reached the climax in the "consciousness of kind" or "race-consciousness", as we would prefer to term it. There was no choice about it. Nothing can be more natural than that the human code of conduct reached the highest degree of development. And this evolution of morals or ethics—itsself an evolutionary biological phenomenon—can terminate only with the life of the race on earth. Religion could not and did not create morality or ethics. Morality or ethics existed long before religion was evolved in the crude mind of the human animal of bygone ages, and will survive religion in the enlightened ages of the future. Religion found morality deeply ingrained in the nature of the human being as an unconscious instinct of race-preservation. The primitive man was moral—to the extent of his mind-development—simply because he had to be moral in order to be able to exist as a member of his primitive social unit before he troubled himself with the mystical and metaphysical phantoms. The humanization of nature or anthropomorphism, forming the essence of all religions, belongs to a comparatively recent stage of the history of men on earth.

What was the effect of anthropomorphic religions on morals or ethics?

In the first instance religion falsified the motives of human conduct. Religion invented the purely anthropomorphic motives of fear of punishment by a humanized supernatural power and desire for reward by the same power in an imaginary mystical life following physical bodily annihilation. Religion invented the dualism of mind (spirit) and matter, of body and soul.

The anthropomorphic religious philosophy could not fail to produce material changes in the moral concepts of believers.

The motives of fear or rewards by a supernatural humanized power (deity) could not but debase the moral currency. These motives appeal to and tend to develop the lower, baser part of the human nature—its individual selfish side. Indeed the primitive man unconsciously acted from higher and nobler

motives than those substituted by religion. The reward of his conduct was its beneficent effect directly on the welfare of the social aggregate he belonged to, indirectly on himself. The punishment of an evil deed or immoral act consists in the bad effect it produces on its author through the medium of his respective social unit. In other words, good conduct is dictated by (conscious or unconscious) enlightened selfishness; immorality by unenlightened crude animal selfishness. Consequently morality depends on the development of the human mind, it is a question of intelligence, an emotional refinement. Making human conduct depend on any other basis than broad self-interest identified with the interests of the social or racial aggregate is not only a perversion of actual facts, but amounts to undermining of the very foundation of social life, to poisoning the very fountain of morality.

However, especially pernicious is the introduction of the whims and fancies of a deity as criteria of good or bad conduct, the making of that deity an arbiter and judge in the realm of human conduct. The criterion of morality—the will of a deity! Can there be a more fruitful source of eternal confusion and flagrant abuse, confusion for the believers and abuse by the self-appointed representatives of the deity—the caste of priests! As a matter of fact, it was the caste of priests that, in the name of the deity, usurped and monopolized the function of moral legislation, which by nature and right belonged to the social aggregate as a whole. The deity, through the agency of priests, of course, can be propitiated by gifts and coaxed by prayers to pardon evil deeds, as if an evil deed may be undone. The curse of an evil deed is that it is an inexhaustible source of other evil deeds and the idea of pardon itself is not only irrational but highly immoral. Most religions teach that a repentant sinner is dearer to the heart of the deity (the stomachs of the priests) than an immaculate saint. Does not this put a premium on immorality?

However confusing and debasing the influence of religious anthropomorphism in the realm of human conduct may be in general, there is one aspect of the case especially fraught with moral confusion and debasement.

We refer now especially to the transference of the center of gravity of human morals, from its natural and only legitimate field—human relations and consociations—to the mystical domains of mythical relations between man and his deity.

Who created this idea? It is a time-honored legal rule: "fecit cui prodest". If a crime is committed and the culprit unknown, look for the person that would or could profit by the crime. The culprit in this crime against rational ethics was and is the priesthood, the self-appointed representatives

of their own creature—the deity. This crime against humanity is eminently calculated to create and maintain in a comfortable if not luxurious life of idleness a parasitic class of priests at the expense of the community. “Fecit cui prodest”: The priests invented theocracy in order to establish their class-rule over the unreasoning masses of humanity, scared by hell and damnation, and coaxed by paradisiacal bliss into submission and obedience.

In short, religion and the institutional church are the creations of class-interests, and are maintained by class-interests and in direct violation of the interests of the human race as a whole. The class of priests produce nothing useful to the community, they are an essentially parasitic class. And as such the priests as a rule naturally sympathize with other parasitic classes, the military and capitalistic class. This is the reason why the institutional church always was and always is on the side of the strong and against the weak, on the side of might against right. In spite of all the sickly mysticism and maudlin sentimentalism of the so-called “religion of love” (*lux a non lucendo*;) the institutional church never seriously attacked any anti-social institutions and frequently defended them against attacks on the part of Rationalists. The church never seriously attacked the wholesale murder of men called war, and frequently glorified and sanctioned it. The anti-war movements were started and are kept up by Freethinkers and Socialists. The so-called peace conference of Hague is correctly termed by Blatchford a “thieves’ supper”.

The institutional church never seriously attacked pauperism and frequently glorified it.

It never seriously attacked the social evil, but at times engaged in white slavery for the filthy lucre (as some Roman popes did).

The institutional church never seriously attacked injustice in any shape or form, but frequently covered it up by turning and twisting the Bible. It defended slavery, serfdom and modern exploitation of men by men. The institutional church always had two weights and two measures, two codes of morals. One rule of conduct for the toiling masses and another for the parasite classes. *Quod licet Iovi non licet bovi*. It preaches the virtues of slavery to the masses—humility, submission to the powers that be, contentment with a life of drudgery and want. To the powerful the church respectfully recommends the social lubricant of charity, equally demoralizing to the giver and the receiver.

The institutional church is not conservative—it is reactionary. Its dial always moves backward, its ideals and aspirations are in the past. It believes in human degeneration (fall of

men) instead of evolution. It preaches the inherent baseness of human nature, and is pessimistic to the core as to the future of the human race.

Any attempts on the part of public-spirited men to arouse the lethargic masses from their torpor by preaching to them the virile gospel of discontent and self-help, must naturally meet with the open or clandestine opposition of the institutional church.

All those who have the interests of the toiling masses of the people at heart, all those who scorn charity and demand justice, all those who struggle for economic as well as political democracy must earlier or later meet the "non possumus" of the church. The abolitionists of the United States found this out to their chagrin. The great French Revolution found itself incompatible with the revelation of the church. The communards of Paris, the first proletarian uprising, treated the church as its bitterest enemy. The present French republic convinced itself that the church is the worst enemy of popular freedom and enlightenment.

These lessons of history do not seem convincing to some American Radicals in general, and Socialists in particular. The overwhelming majority of Socialists are Freethinkers. They only do not believe in the wisdom of arousing religious antagonism, having to contend with a great deal of antagonism of all imaginable and unimaginable kinds. The fact is, that there is no need in arousing religious antagonism against Socialism, or against any other movement toward the improvement of the condition of the masses. This antagonism exists, it is apparent and real to the same extent that there is an apparent and real antagonism between the exploiting classes and exploited masses everywhere and at all times. This antagonism is irrepressible. Only those who willfully close their eyes do not see it; only those who willfully plug their ears with the cotton of self-complacency do not hear the rumbling of struggle between the classes and masses in some form or another. The struggle is on between Materialists, Freethinkers, and Socialists on one side and the church and the exploiting classes on the other. That there are Freethinkers who are not logical enough to be Socialists, and that there are Socialists who are inconsistent enough to imagine themselves to be Christians proves only that men are not always logical and consistent—a fact, alas; that is commonplace enough to need no proof.

If all Freethinkers would have the courage to discard their middle-class prejudices and take the trouble of studying up Socialism *sine ira*, they would soon find out that free-thinking means scientific thinking, not

only on religions, but likewise on social-economic matters, and that Socialism is nothing else but the result of such thinking. If the so-called Christian-Socialists would have the courage to discard their religious bias and study up Christianity or religion in general in the same spirit as they approach social-economic life, in the spirit of scientific truth-seeking, they would soon arrive at the conclusion that Chistianity is, if anything, anarchistic and that Socialism is not and cannot be Christian. Then all Freethinkers would profess Socialism, and all Socialists be militant Freethinkers, and Freethinkers and Socialists would have the courage of their convictions, and struggle together against the common foe. But what is the use indulging in day dreams? We ought to be satisfied with convincing the small, but elect circle of those who are always open to conviction. They will lead and the rest eventually follow or drop out by the wayside as the case may be, and the truth will march on.

ISADOR LADOFF.

(A reply to this article by Dr. Thomas C. Hall of New York City will appear in the July Review.)

Out of the Dump.

CHAPTER II



WAS ELEVEN when I went to live with the Van Kleeks nine years ago, and for several months I felt that I was in a fairy land. Growing flowers I had never seen before and only to look at them filled me with joy. At first the army of servants awed me, and I was never weary of watching the splendid horses, the luxurious carriages and the wonderful automobiles.

I had never imagined dresses of such exquisite texture, nor china so rare, nor real gold plate anywhere outside of Grimm's Fairy Tales. In the great house, surrounded by the grounds filled with stately trees, I was happy for a time to be an unmarked observer of the life of the Leisure Class. Mrs. Van Kleeck was usually so overwhelmed with receptions, musicals, balls or dinners that she forgot all about me until she was called upon for her quarterly report from the Home Finding Department of the Charity Organization Society.

In all my life I had never known people who could afford to satisfy their desires, and the Van Kleecks had only to want and be filled. It was to me a new order of things to hear little Holly Van Kleeck, aged six, demand a new pony and English cart, ANOTHER miniature automobile or a small duplicate of his father's Swiss watch set with diamonds, or some other inconceivable extravagance, and everybody running around to satisfy his demands. I pinched myself when I saw him bang the same watch over his tutor's head and break it. The whole world seemed turned upside down.

But money was nothing at all to the Van Kleecks. Holly had a dog harness for his bull terrier, pegged with knobs of beaten brass, that cost more than a year's rent down at the Dump. And his father roared with laughter when Holly threw it into the blazing fire during an evening romp.

It struck me with continual wonder, that first year, to see lap robes, the price of which would have fed the Higgenses royally for a whole year. I was dumb before a homely red vase that was worth money enough to have saved Pete Miller's leg when it was crushed by the street car, and amput-

ated a few days later on account of unskillful treatment. It was unbelievable that any woman should spend enough money on a single gown to have bought a house and lot in the Alley.

The maid in the left wing enjoyed telling me about these things for I sat mouth agape drinking in the new wonders like a young gourmand, or sat stunned trying to understand that there really was as much money in the world as the Van Kleecks seemed to possess. I had always had grave doubts upon the matter before. Indeed, I was too amazed trying to assimilate these new standards to feel much loneliness. It was a glorious and continuous fairyland performance and I only awoke after six or seven months of it.

At the death of his father, Hollister J. Van Kleeck, Jr., had been left a controlling interest in one of the largest wholesale and retail dry goods houses in America. He was just thirty-one. Prior to that time he had spent his days generally like most young Americans who have more money at their disposal than they know what to do with.

When Hollister J., Jr., became head of the firm he knew less about that business and business in general than the greenest office boy in his own employ. But that did not matter, because his father had tied up the estate so that all Van Kleeck, Jr., could do one way or the other was to DRAW DIVIDENDS. And his son was quite content. After all, I guess dividends are the object of business enterprises, so the old man attained his end.

And old Van Kleeck had left capable men at the helm of affairs who were constantly employed in finding avenues of greater profit into which to steer the business barque. So there was no good reason why his son should roll up his sleeves. And he didn't. He just kept on in his old ways, with the slight diversion of marrying the richest girl in Pittsburgh. It was generally more than likely that his wife herself did not know where he was when he went out on a fishing trip or overland with an automobile party. But it did not hurt the business a bit.

But during my time at Guildhall, Mr. Van had become better known in his home town. He even pretended to talk business occasionally. I know sometimes I heard him talking about the "business interests," and he was made President of the Commercial Club. What the papers said about him is something we should all bear in mind. Their eulogies are surely—fitting.

They said he had become a power in the community and in the whole United States through his wonderful business

foresight, his financial acumen, and his integrity. I suppose if we are going to point the moral, we will say, "Choose a RICH FATHER."

Mrs. Van Kleeck's father controlled the P. D. & Q. R. R. and two or three other Western roads besides, and riding in a private car was more common to her than a street car ride is to the children in the Dump. There were only two children and President White gave each of them a block of P. D. & Q. when they married, which meant that an army of working folks would labor for them as long as they lived, and that the children of these working folks will in turn have to work for his grandchildren, if something startling does not happen before their time.

Mrs. Van Kleeck's life before her marriage had not been much different from her husband's. She went to college and traveled and was introduced. All her life people had been busy performing service for her, making gowns, or hats, preparing dinners, sweating, starving and dying for her.

There were the men who built the cars and laid the road and those who ran the trains and earned the money for the road. They were paid out of the road's earnings to live on, and all the rest went to Mrs. Van Kleeck, her brother, and her father.

My brother Bob says the new capitalist system has the old monarchical and slave systems beaten to a pulp. The capitalists own the factories, the railroads or the mines. In other words, they own the JOBS. But there are not enough jobs to go around, and as a working man must have work in order to earn money to LIVE, there are always men and women who are compelled to sell themselves for a bare living. These men and women are awarded the jobs because the capitalist is in business only for the sake of PROFITS.

Whenever the workers get an advance in wages it leaves less for the capitalists; and every time the capitalists are able to force a reduction in wages, it means more for them. It looks to me as though it will be a hard matter to reconcile the boss and the workingman under these circumstances. They are bound to fight each other as long as there is any prospect of gaining anything by a struggle.

But as I started to say, Bob says the slave owner had very often to force his servants to work, but in these days the worker's stomach pushes him on to compete and even beg for a chance to toil. The capitalist does not need to worry about slaves in these times. There are so many more men than there are jobs that there is always an over-supply of those who must work for just enough to exist on, and no

matter how many of them may be killed in accidents, or through the use of cheap or defective machines, there are always a score of others to take their places.

Besides, Bob says the working people THINK they are free, so the capitalists do not have to follow the example of the Kings and oppose "Liberty." They simply scream "Freedom" from the housetops on all possible occasions and the armies of slaves go back to work with their heads filled with sawdust.

Bob says if he were a king he would go into business, abdicate the throne, lay down his scepter and talk Liberty to his subjects. Then he would give them jobs in the factory and when they made ten dollars' worth of cloth, he would pay them \$2.00 (or just enough to live on in that king's country) and the "Glorious, Free Afghanistan Citizen" would put the new boss upon a pedestal and paint a mental halo around his head.

As Bob says, "the owner of a factory could sure put their majesties on to easier and far better paying jobs." He thinks kinking is "crude and antiquated at this stage of the game."

Take Mrs. Van Kleeck for an example. I guess this is the first time anybody ever hinted that she was not a public benefactor. Kings are generally considered tyrants, but Van Kleecks are regarded as the cream of the earth, and Bob says men who would balk at an emperor do a lot of side-stepping for the sake of "standing in" with the boss.

But speaking of Mrs. Van Kleeck—she scarcely knew how to dress her own hair. Many times I have heard her boasting to her maid, Antoinette, of the things she couldn't do. In fact, I believe there is nothing useful in the world she knew anything about, and as for running a railroad—she does not even know what dividends "her" road pays. She has so much money that she does not know how much she is worth. She can speak French, of course, and German, a little, and Spanish and Italian, I believe, but she has nothing clever to say in any one of them.

When I went to work at the office of the Charity Organization Society, the first thing I noticed was a great sign placed over the door through which the "applicants" are obliged to pass when they want to ask for help. It reads this way: "ALL THINGS COME TO THOSE WHO WORK." I thought of Mrs. Van Kleeck and I laughed inwardly for many days whenever I saw that sign.

Mr. and Mrs. Van Kleeck and the friends in their set were liberal givers to all the charity organizations, and scarcely a

day passed that an employee from the Van Kleeck stores or factory did not apply to one of the organizations for help of some kind. Five dollars a week was the average wage paid to clerks, and you can't make that amount stretch over seven days, try as you may. Besides, the girls are required to dress well and the shabby girl will not be kept long. When a girl is trying to support her mother, or her brother and sisters on five or six dollars a week, she is pretty certain to need aid from somebody very soon. So the Emporium came to be known as The School for Scandal and many of the girls were forced to add to this pittance in another way.

It was unbearably humiliating applying at the charity societies and if you needed a new and decent waist to wear at the new job at Van Kleeck's in the morning it would be a dead of starvation before the "Scientific" Investigators got pretty safe bet to lay on the fact that the whole family would down to a working basis. Or they might present you with an antediluvian waist that The School for Scandal wouldn't employ at the wrapping counter.

They will tell you, at the charity organizations, that Hollister Van Kleeck, Jr., gave a thousand dollars one year to The Home for Delinquent Females and that Mrs. Van Kleeck became so much interested in the work of checking the social evil that she put up enough money to publish a book on the subject written by one of the "Charity experts."

There was not, however, any mention made in this book of The School for Scandal; nor was there in it anywhere a hint of a real cure for the disease.

The Right Reverend Doctor Squab tells us that religion will remove the cause; that when the heart is "purified" women will no longer "desire to sell themselves!" As though any man or any woman ever wished to sell themselves—in any way!

The purpose of Scientific Charity is to provide the members of a family with work paying enough to enable them to live, and if a hundred thousand men or women in any of our large cities should stop work to-morrow, there would be more men and women than would be needed applying to fill those positions the next day. When there are two girls for every job, you can't get jobs for all of us. So it is impossible for the most "scientific" Charity organizations to be "scientific" much of the time.

When a "Scientific" Investigator had Kate Miller's case in hand, Katy was working at the ribbon counter in the Van Kleeck downtown retail store. She was trying to support her mother and herself on five dollars a week, when one of

the buyers took a fancy to her. He paid the room rent and bought her a new dress before he went to New York. Things got worse for Katy after that, instead of better, till the "Scientific" Investigator got hold of her. She lectured Kate and advised her to get a room with some family that would permit her to work at night for her board. Then she brought some sewing for Mrs. Miller, which she was unable to do, with her hands all pinched up from rheumatism. Katy would not go out to work evenings, because she knew somebody had to be home to look after her mother, but they moved into a cheaper room, which the Investigator found and which was so far away from the store that Katy had to pay car fare to the store or walk four miles night and morning.

Then the Investigator fussed with Katy for a while and wanted her to put her mother in The Old Folks' Home, where Katy could support her comfortably by paying only a dollar a week. Katy finally consented, but the Investigator found that Mrs. Miller was six months below the required sixty-five years of age, or not an American-born, or that she was a Catholic, or there was no vacancy or some other unconquerable obstacle—it may have been she had not been a resident of the state over ten years—I can't remember what it was; anyway they found Katy would have to go on supporting her mother the same as ever.

About that time the Investigator got busy on another case, but she did not neglect the Miller family. She sent down a bag of beans and some salt pork, and called around to see how they were doing about two weeks later.

In the meantime the new landlady insisted on having the room rent when it came due. Katy kept right on in the new way till Mrs. Deneen gave them notice and then she made up her mind there was nothing in reforming.

The Investigator was disgusted when the neighbors told her about the Millers and the Society gave Katy up as a bad lot and marked "Very immoral; don't seem to want to do right; UNDESERVING" after her name on the books. It would have done Katy no good to apply there for help after that.

What the Van Kleecks and their friends gave to the charity societies was not a drop in the bucket to what their own employes were actually in need of, but it enabled the management to turn the applicant over to the organizations. Besides, giving to charity is the best possible sort of an advertisement.

MARY E. MARCY.

(To be continued.)

The Failure to Attain Socialist Unity.



THE unity of the Socialist movement should undoubtedly have been attained in 1901. Failure to secure the desired end by all of the then existing factions was due to a wrong position taken by some comrades, who will now pretty generally admit their error. There is no doubt, of course, that selfish conceit had no small part to play in the matter. The error was that each element in the Socialist movement of a nation should have a separate organization and oppose one another openly before the working class. This position, long felt to be wrong by those of the Socialist Labor Party who were active in the I. W. W., has finally been officially surrendered by that party. But every argument which can be massed for unity to-day was just as weighty in 1901.

The tactical position of the S. L. P. on the political field, since the convention of 1900, has been correct. This I have never heard disputed by members of the Socialist Party whose opinions carry weight among the thoughtful and well-informed. Whatever may be required by the peculiar exigencies of the movement in the various European countries, in America the revolutionary argument cannot safely be diluted by even a thimble full of compromise. I shall not take time to go over arguments pro and con which have been printed in the "Review" thirty-nine times. Why then the egregious failure of the Socialist Labor Party in its efforts to build up an organization?

It failed, first, because it attempted to sever the veteran revolutionary element from the forces which were developing to that position. Nor is this all. It strove to draw about itself the veil of absolute sanctity. It was supposed by certain of its leaders to have attained what the Salvation Army calls "Holiness"; therefore it durst not hold conversation with the unclean; therefore it refused to so far trust the working class' mind as to risk its fundamentally correct principles in the rough and tumble of a united movement. The scientific truths at the bottom of the revolutionary up-sweep were made over into the mumbled litany of a sectarian clique. And thus Truth lost its beauty and saving power.

The S. L. P. failed, second, because of its wrong methods of propaganda and education. Men and women who will

develop into revolutionists worth while to the movement are sure to demand respect and decent treatment from their teachers while they are learning. This consideration the honest utopians and reformers in the movement (and all of us were such) have never received from the "People," by which the work of the S. L. P. is ever judged. There may be countries (parts of South America, perhaps) where political revolutions are furthered by going after recruits with a sugar-cane knife. But so far as I have been enabled to experience, the proletariat of North America is more impressed by other and more elevated methods of propaganda.

The pity of it all is that the revolutionary argument itself has often and wrongfully been made to bear the brunt of the opposition to wrong methods. Economic science and larger political forces should be considered apart from the manners of an individual or the peculiar methods of a group who are setting forth weighty arguments. And the revolutionary standpoint has suffered most severely in America because of the blunders, conceit and malignity of some who have stood as its chief exponents before the public. This stigma must be removed. Its advocates must henceforth be most guarded in statement and accurately just in their estimates of those comrades who differ with them. Nine-tenths of the unclearness in the American movement has been due to mud-splattering.

The Parable of the Field.

Once upon a time a party of working people were making their way west to the free lands which there waited them. After much wandering they came to a great field which had been allotted them. The party included the wise and the foolish, the strong and the weak, the just and the unjust. The field before them contained forest and swamp, gentle plain and rocky hillside. The people fell to arguing as to how the land might best be reclaimed and homes built.

Now the argument was all well enough. In fact, it was most necessary. The party contained no all-wise prophet. By quiet discussion, only, could they resolve upon a plan and proceed with their labors. For the season was already far advanced.

Unfortunately the party became divided. The smaller group, whose councils were undoubtedly the wisest, laid hold of a high, dry parcel of land and tilled intensely. This group contained quite a number of strong, enthusiastic men, a quack doctor with a retinue of servants, a lady of the sewing circle and a couple of half-witted fellows—perhaps a dozen in all.

The larger group included all the others—every variety of intellect and character being represented, all desirous, however, of having a home in the wilderness.

While the active men of the smaller group were planting corn, the quack doctor and his servants busied themselves in building a high, tight board fence about their land. This fence not only separated them from their brethren of the other party, but kept out the sun's light and warmth. When the corn began to sprout the wise one pulled up some of it and planted a variety of seeds, which were to produce the cures. These he needed in his trade; various homely nostrums such as penny-royal and sage.

"Damn your nostrums," said the young men; "we want corn." The lady of the sewing circle was writing long letters East relating how nice the old doctor was. The half-witted fellows lay under a tree, making mud balls and throwing them over the fence at those outside.

And then the rain fell and the crops waxed high. And lo, it was seen that along with the harmless quack-nostrums the doctor had planted nettles and poison-ivy. The young men looked at each other and took counsel. The lady of the sewing circle, deep in the shadow of the fence, was writing poems to the doctor. The half-witted fellows were sick and nigh unto death, but knew it not.

"Let us throw down this fence and be united to our brethren," said the young men.

"Disturb us not with your alterations," muttered the imbeciles. "Let us groan in peace." The doctor's servants, as ever before, stood ready to obey him.

"Where he goeth, I shall go," repeated solemnly the lady of the sewing circle, pointing to the quack; "his people shall be my people, and his God, my God."

"I am agreed," said the quack, as he shrewdly eyed the young men, "to throw down the fence. But they that are without must promise to leave us our corn and me my sacred plants. For in my medicines alone is there salvation from the ills which afflict us."

"Anything to please him," said the young men. "What we wish is to smash the fence, that we may labor in harmony and fellowship with our brethren who are without. We have planted corn and they have cleared much new land and drained swamps. Why should we be divided? Life here is unprofitable and unbearable. (For the imbeciles were dying, one by one, and the stench of their pollution filled the air.) Let him have his nostrums. The nettles and poison-ivy have not struck root sufficient to live through the heat of summer."

But the many without would promise nothing. "Throw down the fence," said they, "and join us. You will be welcome. We shall all take counsel later and decide about the corn as well as about the nostrums and nettles."

But the old quack's tongue was like unto the tongue of an adder. He crawled far into the poison-ivy. Thither followed his servants, the lady of the sewing circle and what were left of the imbeciles. They all sat there in gloom, and no one heard of them more. But those who were sound in mind and body picked a hole in the fence and joined their brethren on the outside, taking with them their corn which they had gathered.

The Socialist Labor Party, some years ago, was the only effective revolutionary force in America. It has now become a veritable mill-stone about the neck of the principle which it (judging from its official organ) claims to monopolize. Those of its members whose hopes for the future of the movement outweigh their regrets for the past will surely refuse longer to support an organization which is being used for purely negative and destructive purposes. One consideration alone has given I. W. W. men in the S. L. P. cause for sustaining it during the past three years. That consideration was expected unity. It was hoped that unity might be secured in such a way as to place I. W. W. men upon at least an equal footing with their opponents in the united party. But the current events are showing what a drag upon the I. W. W. the S. L. P. is proving itself to be.

The Socialist Party is not what we might desire. It would have been all that the clearest and most ardent revolutionist might have hoped for, had the whole revolutionary element united to form it in 1901 and learned to use decent and educational methods in propagating their correct principles. A developing class-conscious proletariat will yet make it what it ought to be—the political organization of a class which is as firmly united industrially as politically.

For each of the two essential working class organizations must be independent and supreme in its own field. The only "shadow" about the silly "shadow" theory has been the disordered theory itself.

In the I. W. W. we who uphold political action find no difficulty in working with those who do not. On the political field we industrialists can surely labor with equal success beside those who do not realize the efficiency and the ultimate revolutionary purpose of industrial unionism. For these reasons members of the I. W. W. who favor political action should support the Socialist Party.

FRANK BOHN.

Chagrin Falls, O.

Liberty or Death.



WASSILI YEVEYEV had just left the room. Then they had heard shouts, then one shot, then another and the death yell of a man. After that all was quiet. But Wassili did not return. Out there upon the bleak field, covered by white snow, lay a rigid dark form.

Now they knew that all was lost. They knew that some accident had betrayed the fact that this lone house on the highway was a meeting place of the soldiers of liberty and a depot for their papers and books.

When daylight would break, those who had surrounded the house would catch them and kill them just as they had killed young Wassili. Every one felt for his weapon, for nothing was left for them now than to sell their lives as dearly as possible and to take along as many of those henchmen as possible into infinity.

When day should break, all would be over. But now the night fell and wrapped everything in its dark cloak.

No one spoke a word. They hardly knew one another by name. They knew only that all of them had worked, suffered and bled for liberty. So they were brothers and sisters of the revolution. There were a few women in the large bare room, whose tables and chairs seemed to tremble and live in the uncertain light.

Voloshenko wrapped himself up in his overcoat and sat down in a corner. His eyes were staring blankly into space. They did not see anything. His mind worked hastily, incessantly, without grasping a single thought.

His whole life, from the very beginning, passed in review before him. It reverted back to the years of his childhood and would not leave him. If he had known his mother, he would have had something sweet and pure to think of. But his life had been rough and hard. His father had fallen from a building scaffold and had been carried home, a corpse. Voloshenko had lived with strangers, had been exploited to the blood, had been robbed of youth and happiness. Then came the grey, miserable years, in which he knew nothing but the unremitting toil in a large factory, in which he was held with many others as though they had been prisoners. All he got out of this toil was enough to gather strength for next day's servitude.

Suddenly he felt a body nestling close to his side. A hand glided over his cheek, one, twice. It was gentle, careful, loving, as though it caressed an invalid and feared to hurt him.

He did not resist. It felt so good, so good.

A neighbor lit a cigarette. In the light of the match Voloshenko recognized Marfa Lakonska. He had not recognized her before. He had thought she was held prisoner by the Warsaw police since they had had that brush with them. In spite of her youth she had accomplished much. In various disguises she had successfully held very important positions.

He did not ask how she came to be here. He merely pressed her hand. It was covered by a cold perspiration, and its lean and bony touch spoke of suffering and hardship, but also of energy.

In a twinkling all that had worried, irritated, tortured Voloshenko fell from him and he was ashamed to have been so nerveless. Had not his life been beautiful and grand from the day that his soul had been lit up by the spark of the revolution? From the very day that he had joined the comrades of the revolution his life, hitherto so purposeless and useless, had found an ideal to strive for. And now he was going to die, to die like the heroes of whom he had read in old story books, for a great and holy cause, and he would serve this cause even by his death. He would not die like so many others, who breathed their last upon a bed of ease, with their breaking eyes asking the last painful question: Was that all?

Suddenly a voice spoke up loudly: "I wish I could have lived at least another year."

But when the silence continued, as though to reprove the voice, it added hastily, as though it wanted to excuse itself: "It is only because my little Tatyia would then be going to school." They all knew who had spoken. It was the little crippled teacher. But no one answered. Only a short, harsh laugh came from one corner of the room. That was Voloshenko's.

Dawn came with a pale and cold light. The snowy field was suffused with yellow and reddish hues.

The silence which had held them all through the night weighed them down even now, when they could see one another.

Silently they crowded around the two windows and looked out over the field, where death was stealthily approaching them.

Voloshenko and Marfa died with their arms around each other. All their comrades died with them.

But the fiery and redeeming thoughts that had impelled them did not die. They swept through space like a flock of wild birds. They fled across steppes, forests and seas. And they accused, and accused, and stirred men's souls. PAUL ENDERLING.

(Translated from "Der Wahre Jakob" by Ernest Unter-mann.)

Socialist Platform.

PRINCIPLES.

Human life depends upon food clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

To-day the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point, where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employing workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and

social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climaxes of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wageworking class therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society; the small farmer, who is to-day exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its

master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist party. In this battle for freedom, the Socialist party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

PLATFORM FOR 1908.

The Socialist party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much-boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life are forced into idleness and starvation.

Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired

the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organizations of labor.

In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated state laws and the federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.

The congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellowmen, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.

Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic, and the so-called Independence parties and all parties other than the Socialist party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave owning aristocracy of the south which was the backbone of the Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the Republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interest of the possessing class.

The various "reform" movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent. They are not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

PROGRAM.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

GENERAL DEMANDS.

1—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cutover and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work-day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

3—The collective ownership of all industries which are

organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

5—That occupancy and use of land be the sole title to possession. The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS.

7—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

8—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to nearness of kin.

9—A graduated income tax.

10—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

12—The abolition of the senate.

13—The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

14—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

15—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

16—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

17—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

18—The free administration of justice.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

CHAPTER III.

Civil War and Reconstruction.



THE complexity of the race relations became especially manifest during the civil war. Notwithstanding all the protestations that only the preservation of the Union, and not the question of slavery was the purpose of the war, the South knew but too well, that the negro was destined to be the central figure of the problem. This being the situation, one might have expected the most strained relations between the races in the south; while in the north the white and the black man should have been marching side by side in the cause of the great fight for the emancipation of five million slaves. But reality both in the North and in the South was very far from this ideal picture.

The northern negro knew quite well, that his race was the central problem of the struggle. The educated negro felt the importance of the situation and was very anxious to help along the work of the emancipation of his race. At the first call for volunteers negroes began to apply in great numbers for admission to the northern army. But invariably their requests met with a stern refusal. The denial of the right of military service at this most critical time was the best evidence of the attitude of the North to the negroes.

Even after the beginning of the rebellion, many of the western States continued in force all the special "Black laws", i. e., laws prohibiting the negroes from entering the state, and since with the progress of the war the number of the fugitive slaves looking for protection was rapidly growing, the objection against them in the North was becoming stronger. While the youth of Indiana and Illinois was shedding its blood for the liberation of the slaves, fugitive slaves were being sold at public auction into temporary servitude for no other crime than that they were fugitive slaves.

The first successes of the South in the beginning of the war still more strained the relations between the white and the black in the North. When that part of the population which rushed into the battle, whether out of its devotion to the cause, or out of love of adventure, proved insufficient, and

obligatory military service became necessary, a series of severe draft riots against the innocent negroes was an interesting commentary upon the northern love of the negro. The riots in New York which led to the killing of tens of negroes and the burning of a negro orphan asylum, have earned a place even in the schoolbooks. In brief, the civil war has not served to improve the relations of the races in the North.

Meanwhile the army in the South performed its work. Wherever it appeared, crowds of negroes flocked to it. And this led to the looming up of the negro question. What shall be done with these negroes? General Butler in Virginia considered them as contraband of war, and forced them to perform labor for the army. General Fremont in Missouri declared them free, for which he was severely criticized by the federal Government. Others went so far into the other direction, as to take pains to return them to their legal owners.

But with the progress of the war, the attitude was gradually changing under pressure of the exigencies of the moment. As the shortage in available fighting men was becoming more noticeable, and since the negroes were fully fit for military service, the return of the negroes was given up as a very unwise military measure. For while the South was fighting to prove the inferiority of the negro race, it nevertheless saw no contradiction in impressing the slaves into the southern army to fight side by side with the white men. Finally the admission of negro volunteers in the northern army was ordered in 1863.

One detail of this order went far to prove how remote the North was from ever admitting the equality of the negro. While the white soldiers were paid \$13 per month, besides their clothes, the negroes were given only \$10, out of which \$3 were retained for their clothes, so that the negroes were paid about one half of the rate their white comrades were receiving. Among the colored regiments, (for the colored soldiers, even when admitted, were formed into separate regiments), there were two from Massachusetts, to whom the full pay was promised at the time of enlistment, and the strong protest of these regiments against this unjust discrimination showed that they had a strong feeling of human dignity, for they refused to accept the lower wages, and preferred to go an entire without any payment at all. Even the offer of the State of Massachusetts to pay the difference from its treasury was declined. It was this obstinacy that forced the Congress finally to equalize the pay of the negro soldiers with that given to the white.

The admission of the negro soldiers into the northern

army began after the issue of the proclamation of emancipation, and followed the drafting into the army of the fugitive slaves. Thus the very issue of this proclamation seems to have been an act of military necessity and the result of the effort to break down the military resources of the enemy, and to excite the negro population of the South against the white. It was often pointed out how bloody a struggle the war of secession had been. Perhaps the negro owes his rapid emancipation to this very circumstance. That slavery would have remained in force were the South victorious, is certain. But it is also doubtful whether the emancipation of the slaves would have taken place so soon, if the North could have accomplished the suppression of the rebellion in a short time and without any great difficulties. For the avowed object of Lincoln was only a rapid return to the status quo. And the emancipation of the slaves was announced only as a necessary military measure, and was to be enforced only in those localities which persisted in the rebellion. For a time slavery persisted in those slave owning states which had not joined the rebels.

All these facts are well known to every American school boy. But they are reviewed here in order to show how little idealism and love for the colored brother there was to be found even in the northern states. For stern necessity, and not sentiments led the North on the way which it followed.

Let us now turn to the South for a similar rapid review of the race relations during the civil war. The utilization of the negroes in the northern army and Lincoln's proclamation called forth a feeling of bitter resentment in the South. Under pressure from the military authorities of the confederacy, the confederate congress passed a law establishing capital punishment for any negro or mulatto caught fighting against the confederate army. Furthermore, even white officers in command of colored troops were to be tried not as enemies and prisoners, but as criminals.

Judging from these facts, one might easily come to the conclusion that the relation between the slave owners and the slaves were strained to the utmost. But such a conclusion would only go to show how little one understood the complexity of the race relations in the South.

It is true, that thousands of negroes had escaped from their masters in those days, and had joined the northern armies. But this represented only one side of the problem. On the other hand, the same southern newspapers, while representing the willingness of the northern army to employ colored soldiers, pointed with triumph to the fact, that negroes

voluntered to serve in the southern army. Thousands of slaves were forced to do engineering work for the confederate regiments, while free negroes were received as soldiers; thus the southerner finally showed his willingness to recognize some difference between the slave and the free negro. The state of Tennessee officially announced that free negroes between the ages of 15 and 20 would be accepted into the army, and it was further enacted "that in event that a sufficient number of free persons of color to meet the want of the State shall not tender their services, the Governor is empowered to press such persons until the requisite number is obtained." And a Virginia newspaper, in announcing that 70 free negroes had volunteered to serve the army, exclaimed: "Three cheers for the patriotic free negroes of Lynchburg."

Thus quite suddenly souls were found in the black bodies, and even such souls as were capable of the high feeling of patriotism. Many negroes served quite faithfully the southern cause, for no other reason than that they remembered the kind treatment of their masters. And even now one meets many an old negro who is quite proud of his services in the southern army.

Cordial relations between master and slave were still more noticeable at home on the plantation, as Mr. Booker Washington, that famous negro apostle of peace, delights in pointing out. Says he in his autobiography: "One may get the idea that there was bitter feeling toward the white people on the part of my race. This was not true of any large portion of the slave population in the South where the negroes were treated with anything like decency. . . . In order to defend and protect the women and children who were left on the plantation when the white males went to war, the slaves would have laid down their lives. . . . Any one attempting to harm young Mistress or old Mistress during the night would have had to cross the dead body of the slaves."

Thus the patriarchal relations of the slavery not only created the peculiar mixture of confidence and friendship with contempt in the white men, but also the equally strange mixture of devotion and love with distrust and protest in the heart of the black man.

The conclusion of peace and the final legal abolition of slavery followed in rapid succession. The effect of the proclamation of January 1863 was automatically extended, as the victorious regiments of the northern army reached further into southern territory. The passing of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution soon after the conclusion of the war abolished slavery in those states to which the proclamation

did not apply. But unfortunately the abolition of slavery did not bring about the abolition of the negro problem.

The decade which followed after the civil war is one that is least understood by the average northerner. Most of these ten years were years of unlimited negro power in the South, which came in quite suddenly after about three centuries of slavery. At the same time they were years of most rampant political corruption, which the southerners quite naturally have altogether ascribed to the participation of the negro in political life. The mildest protest against the abrogation of the essential political and civil rights of the negroes in the South is immediately met with a reference to the reconstruction. Whithin the recent years this view upon that period has gradually extended to the north, under the general influence which the South is exercising upon northern thought. Some years ago, Root, then Secretary of War, and staunch Republican that he was, publicly announced that the granting of the franchises to the freed negro was a serious mistake. The historian Burgess makes the stronger assertion that it was "one of the blunder crimes of the century and unnatural, ruinous, destructive, and utterly demoralizing to both races." It is evident therefore, how very important is the study of the causes and results of the political emancipation of the negroes for a proper understanding of the present day negro problem.

At the bottom of the whole situation was undoubtedly the entire complicated political organization of the American union with its constitutional limitations of the legislative functions of the federal government. Since the permanent administration of the conquered territory from Washington was not to be thought of, (at least not in those days of adherence to the old republican principles), the question arose as to how and when the original status quo could be reestablished. It is not necessary to enter here into the details of the legal distinction as to whether the states as such or only their population had joined the rebellion against the federal government. But under the cover of these legal intricacies there were hidden material interests of utmost importance.

In many respects the American proclamation of emancipation was a most remarkable act. In announcing on January 1, 1863, the liberation of the slaves, Lincoln accompanied it with very well meant advice: "I recommend to them that in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages." Thus at one stroke of a pen, a rural proletariat of over three million persons was created, and the whole material basis of the emancipation proclamation was limited to that very useful advice. During the last years of the war,

when thousands of fugitive slaves were actually starving to death, some more direct help was granted through the newly organized "Freedman's Bureau," but its activity was limited, and the entire negro population was left in a very critical condition. One can easily understand therefore, why the first outburst of joy at the proclamation of independence was soon followed by a feeling of anxiety for the future, of which very interesting evidence and discussion may be found in Booker Washington's autobiography.

Nothing was left to the free negroes, outside of the small work of the Freedmen's Bureau, but to look for paying wage work at the plantations of their old masters or their immediate neighbors. On the other hand, the owners of the plantations were left in close dependence upon their ex-slaves. When the young planters returned from the war, they found themselves in a very critical economic position. The half destroyed buildings, neglected plantations, and absence of capital (since the paper money of the southern confederacy had lost its value) such was the situation of the South. The enormous amount of capital outlay, which the millions of slaves represented, had turned into nothing. The negro was at the bottom of this complete ruin, and a deep resentment and hatred arose within the hearts of the white planters of the South.

This situation was certainly striking, in that the entire hatred and illfeeling was on the side of the slave-owners. In its first proclamation of emancipation Lincoln announced that the Federal government would not take any measure to pacify slaves when they should make an effort to gain their freedom. This was an open invitation to the slaves to rebel against their masters. But the slaves did not rebel, they continued to work faithfully for their old masters until the very day of the formal announcement of their freedom. "It is probable" says Carl Schurtz, who has studied the situation in the South after the war, by order of President Johnson, "that some of them had suffered cruel punishment, or other harsh treatment while in the condition of slavery; but not one act of vengeance on the part of the negro after emancipation is on record. On the contrary, there were many instances of singularly faithful and self-sacrificing attachment."

No, the revenge came all from the other direction. The white southerner was full of revenge because for 250 years he had been exploiting his black neighbor. General Schurtz tells us in his report to President Johnson, "that not only the white slave-owners but the whites who owned no slaves began to hate the negro with special bitterness. "Since the money

value of the negro vanished, the murder of or the injury to the negro is not only condoned but encouraged. Since the negro helped to preserve the union, he was hated by those who fought for secession." The feeling was so strong, that notwithstanding the presence of northern troops in all southern states, the negroes were brutally terrorized. As General Schurtz had indicated then, and as all the southerners readily, and almost boastfully admit now, the murder, the mutilations and all the other brutalities were committed not only by the mob and rabble, but by the very proudest southern gentlemen, respected members of southern society. The famous, or infamous Ku Klux Klan, the secret organization, whose investigation embraced a congressional report of thirteen large volumes, systematized this state of terror. The activities of the Ku Klux Klan rapidly grew to 1860 when the negroes had been given the right to vote.

Now, what was the real force behind this feeling of revenge and these acts of violence? That was the desire to **reestablish slavery.**

This is no exaggeration. There can be no doubt after a careful study of the contemporary literature of the South, as well as of the North, that a considerable part of the southern planters hoped and dreamed of the reestablishment of the "Southern institution" in substance if not in form. The investigation of General Schurtz was largely instrumental in demonstrating this state of affairs and it certainly helped to influence the subsequent course of events.

For the psychological effects of slavery upon the southern mind could not be easily obliterated. Obstinate they continued to cry: The negro is only fit for enforced labor. And still stronger was the conviction, still more deeply ingrained in the mind of the slave-owner of yesterday, that the negro was there only for the purpose of producing cotton, rice, and sugar for the white man and had no rights to the pursuit of happiness, guaranteed to white men only.

Such was the mental attitude, with which the slave-owner of yesterday was entering the era of free labor; and naturally he did not expect anything good to come from it. He sincerely thought that the emancipation of the slaves was not only harmful, but illegal. Slavery was properly a question of local self-government and as soon as the autonomy of the southern states would be reestablished the South would know how to help itself. Following Lincoln's plans, President Johnson promised the South the early reestablishment of the state rights, and the constitutional status quo. Here is what a southern gentleman in Mississippi wrote to his constituents

in 1866, on being nominated for a local office for the elections which were taking place under the supervision of the northern army: After an indignant denial of the charge that he was an unconditional emancipationist and abolitionist, the gentleman says: "But fellow citizens, what I, in common with you, may have to submit to, is an entirely different thing. Slavery has been taken away from us; the power that has already practically abolished it, threatens totally and forever to abolish it' But does it follow that I am in favor of this thing? By no means. My honest conviction is, we must accept the situation as it is, until we can get control once more of our own state affairs. We cannot do otherwise to get our place back in the Union that will protect us against greater evils, which threaten us. I must submit for a time (!) to evils I cannot remedy."

A plainer admission of the plans which were brewing in the South could not be made. Such was the tone of the vanquished foe only three months after the conclusion of the war! Nor was the South satisfied with words alone. Encouraged by the pacifying attitude of President Johnson, it soon passed from words to actions. Many a planter simply decided that he would not grant the promised freedom to his negroes, and having armed a few white men would shoot down like so many dogs all the negroes who would dare to demand that long desired and promised liberty. This brutal use of force soon reached such dimensions, that the army of occupation, threatened to confiscate the entire property of the planters who would resist the presidential orders. On the other hand the municipalities, which immediately were granted almost full right of self-government, soon began to pass local ordinances, by means of which the actual freedom of the freedmen was materially reduced, and moreover, these ordinances now applied to all the negroes, whether they had been slaves before the war or not, so that as a matter of fact, the old free negroes soon found themselves in a worse position legally than they had been before. Each negro was required by these ordinances to be in employ of some white man, preferably his old master, and the employer was made responsible for the conduct of the negro. This employer could give the free negro a written permission to work for another employer, but such written permit was only good for seven days. Every infringement of these regulations was punishable by a fine of \$5, and in the absence of this sum, (as was inevitable in the majority of cases,) by five days of enforced labor, and corporal punishment. The free negro had no right to enter the town without the written permit of his employer, under the penalty of imprisonment, a fine, or the whipping post. Meetings and

conventions of negroes after the sundown were strictly prohibited. A negro could not speak at a meeting or even preach a sermon, without a previous permit from the authorities. A negro could not engage in commerce, without the written permission of his "employer", under penalty, of the whipping post, a fine, and the confiscation of his stock.

Such was the attitude of the municipalities, but the state governments did not lag behind.

After the taking of the oath, the state of Mississippi was the first to convoke a session of the legislature, and having agreed to the two demands of the president, i. e., the recognition of the abolition of slavery, and the invalidity of the southern war loans, it received back its old right for self-government. Within the first three days the legislature passed three bills in regard to the negroes, and as soon as the congress became acquainted with these three bills, it was forced immediately to change its policy towards the South, in direct opposition to President Johnson. An analysis of these three bills is therefore necessary for the purpose of understanding the racial relations at that period of turmoil and confusion.

The first bill was intended to regulate the relations between the employers and the minor negroes. According to this bill, minor negroes of either sex, when their parents were unable to support them, were required to register as apprentices to white men, and to remain in their places until they were of age. The employer was given the right of administering corporal punishment upon the slaves, and escape of the apprentice was punishable by imprisonment and the whipping post.

The second bill was aimed at the negro vagrants, and the white vagrants when found in association with the negro vagrants. Each negro who had not paid his poll tax was defined as vagrant; also the negroes found gathered in mobs, whether by day or night, and also white men, associating with negroes or mulattoes, or having sexual intercourse with the negro women. Such crimes of the negro were punishable by a fine of \$50, and in the case of the white men, \$200, and in absence of the sum necessary to pay the fine, the negroes were to be sold at public auction into, what really amounted to temporary slavery, to the bidder who was willing to take the guilty one for the shortest time in compensation for the full amount of fine. It was very evident that that measure alone amounted to the reestablishment of temporary slavery, and that with judges and officers all white men, the negro could be recaptured and resented as soon as he was through serving his sentence.

The civil rights of the freedmen were defined by the third act. They were graciously given the right to own property and entertain action in courts, which rights the free negroes had even before the war, but they could lease landed property in cities only. Could there be found any better evidence of the class nature of this economic legislation, than this effort to prevent at the very beginning the possibility of the growth of negro land ownership? Mixed marriages were strictly prohibited, and the presence of one eighth of negro blood was sufficient to classify a person a member of the negro race. Negroes could be admitted as witnesses only when one of the parties belonged to the negro race. Each negro was required to have a definite place of residence and an occupation, and to prove such by a written labor contract or a license from the authorities for performance of temporary work. The negro who broke his labor contract was to lose the right to claim his pay, was liable to arrest and forcible return to his employer; and the latter was to pay to the sheriff who accomplished his capture a considerable reward, to be deducted from the wages of the negro. Influencing a negro to escape or assisting him in his escape by furnishing food, was prohibited and punishable. The negro was not permitted to wear arms. In short, the old black code was reestablished for the freed negroes, though after it has been made somewhat more stringent. But the acme of class legislation was reached in the following provision: "that any freedman, free negro, or mulatto committing riots, affrays, trespasses, malicious mischief, and cruel treatment to animals, seditious speeches, insulting gestures, language or acts, or assaults on any person, disturbance of the peace, or exercising the functions of a minister of the gospel without a license from some regularly organized church, or selling spirituous or intoxicating liquors, or committing any other misdemeanor," should be fined or imprisoned, and upon failure to pay the fine in five days' time after conviction, should be publicly hired out to the person who would pay the fine, and costs for the shortest term of labor from the convict.

Thus, each and every action of the "free" negro when unpleasant to the local authorities, could easily be termed a crime, and could serve as a ready excuse for arresting him and selling him into temporary slavery, as is admitted even by such a sympathizer with the South as Professor Burgess.

This well defined policy of the State of Mississippi, which other southern states seemed only too anxious to follow, could not but call forth severe criticism in the North. It would be difficult to state exactly how much of this protest was called forth by purely altruistic considerations; and how much by

selfish calculations; but there is no doubt that the North was sincere in its criticism since it had no reason to desire the reestablishment of slavery which had cost so much to the country. The tendencies of the State of Mississippi and the report of General Schurtz, who had investigated the condition of affairs in that state and several other southern states, largely influenced the congress in its decision to break away from the pacifying policy of President Johnson, and to begin the new era of reconstruction.

Without going into the details of the political events, which followed in rapid succession, it may be useful to mention the main features of the congressional plan which was carried through. The southern delegates to the House and the Senate were refused admission. The radicals insisted that the granting of self-government to the rebel states would leave the rights of the negroes unprotected. Three roads to reconstruction were left open to the country. The North could continue the military occupation of the South and the government of the conquered states from Washington, or the internal government could be so centralized that local discrimination against the negro would be impossible, and their rights would be thus protected, or finally the negroes could be given the means for self-protection; namely, the right of participation in the state government. In the final plans, the military occupation was looked upon only as a temporary measure, any extensive changes in the methods of self-government, in the nature of centralization, were not thought of, and therefore the third plan was accepted, granting the negroes the right to vote. The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution were passed in 1866. These amendments naturally called forth the violent opposition of the South and only passed because their acceptance was made a condition to the readmission of the southern delegates to the House and the Senate.

The thirteenth amendment formally prohibited slavery within the entire territory of the United States. Even this amendment was violently fought against by the south, and this only strengthened the decision of the North not to let the South have its own way. The fourteenth amendment deprived those who had participated in the rebellion of the right to vote before 1870, and established the rule, which has caused so much discussion recently, that the representation of a state in the congress should be decreased whenever the voting right was taken away from a considerable part of the population; the measure could have been easily excused in view of the fact that the emancipation further increased the represen-

tation of the South in the national legislature. The original constitution, while providing for representation in the lower house proportionately to population, was forced to introduce a compromise by which only three fifths of the slave population of the southern states was counted, and even that gave the white a representation which was considerably out of proportion to its numbers; were the negroes to remain without any influence on the elections though free, this would further increase the overrepresentation of the white men of the South, and to grant such a privilege to the vanquished would have been magnanimity, bordering on insanity.

The fourteenth amendment touched only upon the position of the South in national politics, but for the protection of the negroes and their rights in the South, the fifteenth amendment was passed in the same way, prohibiting discrimination at the polls on account of race, or color, or previous condition of servitude. This was the first measure that granted all the negroes throughout the country the right to vote; though the negroes of the South had already participated in the elections of 1866 and 1868, in virtue of various military regulations, yet the southerners had confidently hoped to be able to put a stop to that after they had returned to power. This hope of the white man of the South seemed at that time to have been destroyed by the fifteenth amendment. In addition, this amendment had for the first time granted the right of vote to the negroes of the entire North.

Even such a level headed man as Carl Schurtz came out unequivocally in favor of granting the franchise to the negroes. "As the most difficult of the pending questions are ultimately connected with the status of the negro in southern society, it is obvious that a correct solution can be more easily obtained if he has a voice in the matter," wrote Carl Schurtz in his report. "The rights of a man of some political power are far less exposed to violation..... A voter is a man of influence, such an individual is an object of interest to the political parties that desire to have the benefit of his ballot. It is true, that bringing face to face at the ballot-box of the white and the black races may here and there lead to an outbreak of feeling, and the first trials ought certainly to be made while the national power is still there to prevent or repress disturbances, but the practice once successfully inaugurated under the protection of this power, it would probably be more apt than anything else to obliterate old antagonisms, especially if the colored people divide their votes between the different political parties."

Nor did Schurtz think that the ignorance of the negroes

was a serious argument against granting them that franchise. The granting of the franchise, could not be postponed until the accomplishment of the education of the negro, because, he argued, the franchise was very necessary to accomplish the education of the black race. Just as lightly did he meet the plea, that the negro would become a blind tool in the hands of politicians, as for instance his masters..

"The beneficial effect of an extension of suffrage does not always depend upon the intelligence with which the newly admitted voters exercise their rights, but sometimes by the circumstances in which they are placed," says the old radical of 1848, "and when they vote for their own liberty and rights, they vote for the rights of free labor, for the prosperity of the country, for the general interests of mankind." Further, Schurtz insisted that the South could not be expected to grant the right to vote to the negroes without the interference of the North, that the white South is very much opposed to such a measure, and that this must therefore be made a condition of the return of the southern states into the union.

One need not doubt, however, that side by side with such idealistic constructions, the more vulgar motives of party advantage were exercising their powerful interests. The calculation was brutally plain and simple. Grateful for their emancipation, the negroes will necessarily join the republican party in a body. Even as honest a man as Charles Sumner was swayed by such an argument, though for purely public consideration. But many politicians of a much lower plane saw in this plan the possibility of gaining purely personal advantages. Only by a combination of all these considerations can the granting of the franchise to the freed slaves be explained. As at the same time the vote was taken away, for a time, from all the white southerners who had been active participants in the historical struggle, this granting of the franchise to the negroes was equivalent to the deliverance of the political future of the South into the hands of the slaves of yesterday.

I. M., ROBBINS.

(To be Continued).

Does Socialism Change?



THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE is not always the true line of progress, intellectually or otherwise. But it attracts many travellers.

This may account largely for the phenomena written so large in the current history of American Socialism, viz: the fact that its national conventions, the correspondence of its national committee, and the propaganda matter in print and speeches have reflected so much the early classics of socialist thought, to the almost entire exclusion of later utterances even of such men as Engels and Liebknecht.

It has been left to Putnams and Harpers to bring out books such as Ensor's "Modern Socialism" or Jaures' "Studies in Socialism"—books which reflect in a more balanced way the thought of the modern socialist world as distinguished from the earlier socialist origins.

In view of this fact it is to the credit of the Chas. H. Kerr Publishing Company that they are putting out a translation of Kampffmeyer's "Changes in the Theory and Tactics of the German Social-Democracy."

Inasmuch as the writer of this article felt the value of Kampffmeyer's work to be such as to warrant its translation, those who are not familiar with the little brochure may be glad of a few words of introduction from one who has studied it closely.

If Germany were not a modern nation, throbbing with all the influences of a twentieth century capitalism, Kampffmeyer's little book would have only an academic value. But coming, as it does, from one of the most virile of the great national movements now based upon the tenets of socialism, it has immense value for all students of that movement.

In seven short chapters, occupying only about one hundred pages in the German, Kampffmeyer treats successively of "The Unfolding of Socialism in the Social-Democratic Theory, The Capitalistic State and the Parliamentary Activity of the Social-Democracy, State Social Reform and the Social-Democracy, Militarism and the Social-Democracy, Municipal Social Reform and the Social Democracy, Trades Unions and the Social-Democracy," and "Co-operatives and the Social-Democracy."

Thus the author covers most of the important fields of socialist thought, except that dealing with the agrarian ques-

tion. And this he does not treat owing to the nature of his treatise, which aims to give an "estimate of the fundamental ideas in the theory of the leading minds of the Social-Democracy"..... and "a presentation of these ideas which shall be as objective as possible." And as he says, ".....after two very promising efforts at a settlement of the agricultural question, the party as a whole has laid aside that question for the time being." The reader will do well to remember however, that this work of Kampffmeyer's bears the date of 1904, and that many things may happen within four years.

Perhaps no single work is so calculated to disillusionize the too enthusiastic preacher of an "absolutely scientific socialism" as this of Kampffmeyer—unless it be Bernstein's little brochure entitled "Is Scientific Socialism Possible?" We hasten to add that few will give the reader more confidence in the virility of a movement which can meet the tests of history and out of its very weaknesses fashion the weapons for victory, than does this story of the sturdy growth of the German Social-Democracy.

Every chapter throbs with the current of a live issue in the Socialist movement, not only of Germany, but of the world. The conception of the "state" and of "political action" is one vital to the American movement in these days, when "direct action" is not only written about by enthusiastic Frenchmen, its ambiguous phrases analyzed in the cold blood of retrospect in the *Socialistische Monatshefte*, but even finds expression in the platform committee of the American Socialist Convention.

"Social-Reform" is famous as a bug-a-boo to frighten socialist children, but like most of the terrible things of childhood, proved to be a helpful friend to the German Social-Democracy when the latter had grown to years of maturity.

Very interesting and instructive also is the experience of the German movement in connection with the trades union and co-operative movements. Taken with the experiences of the French and Belgian comrades they are calculated to raise important questions in the minds of thoughtful American socialists as to possible resources of future strength for our party.

Those unfamiliar with the phases of thought in the European Socialist movement, as the majority of our American readers have seemed to be, may at first mistake Kampffmeyer's book for a plea in favor of the "reform wing" of the movement. But a more careful reading will make it plain that he is only stating carefully and impartially the various positions, giving equal space and emphasis to representatives of the various groups. (Bernstein is mentioned only twice, I think.)

Kampffmeyer states truly the basis of the principal variations of opinion, in a paragraph found in his chapter on "Trades Unions and Social Democracy", which reads as follows: "Points of view . . . depend upon the opinion which the various social-democratic wings have formed: first, with reference to the rapid or slow development of capitalism into socialism; second, concerning the possibility of the working class wresting labor legislation from the bourgeoisie within capitalistic society; third, concerning the role which labor legislation can undertake alongside the other means of transforming capitalism."

Most valuable of all, perhaps, is the portrayal of the changes of opinion on the part of men like Bebel, Liebknecht, etc., on matters connected fundamentally with theory and tactics. The following quotation from Liebknecht is characteristic of the whole story as told by Kampffmeyer: "In the early days of our party, when we had only few followers, we went to the Reichstag exclusively, or almost exclusively, for the propagation of our ideas. But very soon we were placed upon the ground of practical matters. We have seen that the injustice in the present social order is something more serious than simply an opportunity for the making of pretty speeches, and that it will not be done away with by the prettiest or strongest of speeches. We have discovered that the most important thing is, to do something in the field of practical affairs. . ."

The Socialist Party in America has suffered from the conception held of it by friends as well as by enemies, that it is fully formed and possesses a completed set of ideas. But a study of the movement in any country where it has had time to develop a history shows, that if socialist thought and theory is to be conceived as a crystal, it is as a crystal which has not yet fully formed all its facets and angles, nor drawn to itself all of the material of its own quality which is now in solution in the world of economics and politics. And the socialist movement is an organism, subject to all the laws of growth and adaptation; not final in its present form and force, but growing, changing, developing, taking on new and greater meaning day by day.

Some day there will be written the story of "The Changes in the Theory and Tactics of the American Socialist Movement." I trust that it may show a record of as much sanity and insight as this work of Kampffmeyer's reveals in the German movement, with such added strength as ought to come to those who are in a position to profit by the experience of others.

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EDITOR'S CHAIR

The National Socialist Platform. Four years ago a Socialist Party platform was adopted without discussion and with hardly a dissenting vote on the floor of the convention, but it met with a storm of protest from party members who were not delegates, and who felt that their views had not been properly represented. This year all shades of opinion were fully represented, and every disputed point was thoroughly discussed. Nearly every test vote resulted in an overwhelming majority for one of the two opposing views, and when the platform as a whole came to a vote, it was passed without a word of protest. Some of us would have preferred to have included in it an explicit declaration for industrial unionism, but the majority of the delegates were not well enough informed on the subject to take a decided stand, and party platforms and resolutions must always state the things on which the members of a party are in substantial agreement rather than the things on which they differ. Some again would have preferred to replace the list of immediate demands by a general statement that we favor whatever is for the interest of the working class, but it was urged with a good deal of force that it is more democratic for the party through its delegates to consider the question of what measures are for and what against the interest of the working class than to leave the matter entirely to such comrades as might hereafter be elected to office. A motion was passed to include "all the land" with railways and other means of transportation, among those things of which immediate collective ownership was demanded. Moreover an attempt to make a definite declaration for maintaining the private ownership of small farms was voted down. These two votes doubtless represent the opinion generally prevailing among socialists, but the fact of the matter is that the question of individual or collective farming will in the long run be determined by the development of industrial processes, without the least reference to political platforms. Or rather, the platforms of the future will be made to fit the industrial development of the future. It was an encouraging sign that a farmer was the one who drafted the

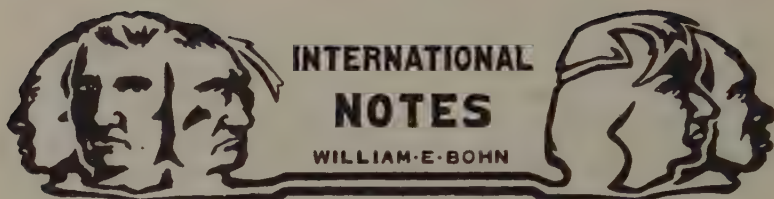
minority report on the farming question which the convention accepted. The platform as adopted was alike revolutionary and constructive. It will enlist the support of all members of the working class who are beginning to understand socialism, and we can wait a little longer for the others.

The Party Constitution. The Socialist Party, unlike the old parties, is controlled by its members. The old parties have no members, only bosses and voters. A member of the Socialist Party is one who has signed a pledge severing his connection with any other party and who pays monthly dues, also wherever practicable attending the meetings of his local. The State and National Committees are elected by direct vote of the membership. The membership may at any time by a referendum vote reverse any acts of committees or officers, or remove them from office. The National Committee consists of one member from each state with an additional member for every thousand active members of the party. This committee is too large to hold frequent meetings, and minor details of party management are left to an executive committee of seven, all acts of which are subject to review by the National Committee. This executive committee was formerly elected by the National Committee, but during the last two years the experiment has been tried of electing it by a general referendum vote of the party membership. The experiment has led to some inefficiency and confusion and the recent convention voted, wisely, we believe, to return to the former method of electing an executive committee. It is not the province of the executive committee to originate new policies, but to carry out those of the National Committee, and its members should be selected for their experience and known efficiency rather than for their public prominence. Another feature added to the constitution is a provision for a socialist Congress to be held in the even years when no presidential election occurs. All amendments voted by the convention must be confirmed by a referendum vote of the membership before going into effect. Every Socialist should not merely vote the ticket but join the party. If you do not know how to get in touch with the nearest local, or with the secretary of your state, write to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 180 Washington St., Chicago.

Women at the Convention. Never have women been so conspicuous a factor in the American Socialist movement as to-day. This was indicated in part by the intense interest with which the relations of women to the Socialist Party were discussed. The real question at issue was practically the same as the question of a special program to attract farmers. Some of the women in the convention, like some of the farmers, thought that the general Socialist propaganda would be better than any special appeal. A large majority of the women present, however, favored special action, and the convention complied with their wishes, although one woman offered strong reasons for holding that more could be accomplished by mak-

ing the same appeal to women that we make to men. Unrestricted suffrage for adult women was rightly made a prominent part of our immediate demands. The Socialist Party of all countries stands not only for the collective ownership but also for the democratic control of the means of production by which wage-labor is exploited, and no control can be democratic when half the workers are denied a vote. The Socialist Party is the only party that has consistently advocated suffrage for woman through the whole course of its existence, and any lack of emphasis on this topic has been due to a lack of interest in the subject on the part of women. The most hopeful thing for the woman suffrage movement about our recent convention is the fact that women have fearlessly and efficiently taken hold of the general work of the movement. The women delegates commanded a hearing not because they were women but because they had something to say and knew how to say it.

Debs and Hanford. The veteran Socialist, who realizes how little votes count for without active brains behind them, is not easily carried away with enthusiasm over the question of candidates. But veterans and recruits alike had their pulses quickened when the Convention named Debs and Hanford as their standard bearers. The result was far from assured before the delegates met. Both of these comrades were said to be shattered in health, and it was feared that their places would have to be taken by untried men. But Hanford was at the Convention and the way he fought for his ideas dispelled all fears as to his fitness for a longer fight, while there were plenty of comrades who testified that Debs was himself again. So it was Debs and Hanford. Eugene V. Debs suddenly became a world-figure in 1894 when as the head of the American Railway Union he went to Woodstock jail rather than surrender in the fight the railway men were waging on behalf of the overworked and underpaid operatives at the Pullman car works. 'Gene went into that jail a "pure and simple" trade union man; he came out a class-conscious Socialist, with a grasp on Socialist principles that many an earnest student might well envy. He worked for years to build up the Social-Democratic Party, and when in 1900 it united with the saner two-thirds of the Socialist Labor Party to make up the Socialist Party, he was made the presidential candidate of the united organization. In 1904, he was drafted into service again, and this time his running mate was Ben Hanford of New York, one of the fighters of "Big Six," the typographical union that forces recognition from the great capitalist newspapers of New York City, and an old-time member of the Socialist Labor Party. Debs and Hanford are living incarnations of the class struggle. A vote for them is a vote for the peace than can only come when the predatory class is overthrown.



England. Though little has happened during the past month there has been a good deal of significant discussion. There is no country in the world where at the present moment the fundamental principles of government are so much in question. Every joint in the social fabric is being put to the test. It must be admitted, however, that the legislative result is pitiful enough. For example, the long promised Old-Age Pension Bill is valuable only because it recognizes the principle of social responsibility and so opens up the whole problem of the relation of the individual to the state. This measure, which was introduced into the House of Commons on May 7th, provides for a pension of \$1.25 a week to all the worthy poor above seventy years of age whose weekly incomes are under \$2.50. Mr. Asquith estimates that the number of such will not exceed 500,000, and so the provisions of the bill can be carried out at an annual expense of about £30,000,000. Of course few of the poor, worthy or unworthy, ever live to the age of seventy, and it is very clever of the Premier to use this fact in support of his bill. Some of the arguments against the measure are extremely amusing. The London Spectator proclaims, for example, that the maintenance of indigent employes should devolve upon the capitalists who have profited by their toil, not upon the state. Which looks rather queer on the pages of a sheet that wages systematic war upon Socialism.

The Education Bill outlined in the April number of the Review has practically been defeated in the House of Lords, and a new one is now up for discussion. This was submitted by the Bishop of St. Asaph on March 30th. Strange as it may appear this measure, though unofficially supported by the Anglican church, seems to an outsider more sensible, and even more liberal, than the one introduced by the government. It provides that no elementary schools shall be maintained out of public funds unless controlled by the local education authority; that there shall be no religious test for teachers; that no teacher shall be required to give religious instruction; that any teacher may on certain days give such religious instruction as may be desired by parents, but shall not be paid therefor out of the public funds. This bill has strong support, and, with some amendments, stands a chance of favorable action. But whether it goes through or not the government can get small comfort out of the situation.

As was expected Winston Churchill was defeated in the Manchester bye-election. The chief interest attaching to the incident lies in the fact that in their eagerness for the Irish vote the govern-

ment pledged themselves to make home-rule the issue in the next general election. Mr. Churchill was finally saved to the cabinet by being returned from the safe constituency of Dundee.

The relation between the Social Democrats and what has come to be called the "Socialist-Labor" party is now a matter of vital importance to our English comrades. The Social Democratic Federation maintains toward the English labor movement an attitude somewhat analogous to that of the Socialist Labor Party in the United States. Since the adoption of Socialism as the objective of the Laborites there has arisen a strong element in the S. D. F. demanding a change of policy. This element is represented by numerous letters in recent numbers of *Justice*, the official organ of the party. The chief arguments presented sound strangely familiar to American ears. It is contended, e. g., that keeping aloof from the trades-union movement argues lack of faith in the principle of the class-struggle. The Socialist element in the Labor-Party, it is claimed, is already strong. Increased by the adhesion of the S. D. F., it would soon leaven the whole lump of the labor movement. Then, we are told, the proletarian class would have a real political expression. Comrade H. Quelch replies to all this that the Labor Party is not yet sufficiently class conscious to be trusted, and if the Social Democrats go over to it they will be bound by the will of a compromising majority; consequently there will be no organization to represent before the English proletariat the genuine principles of Socialism. Whatever is the immediate outcome of this discussion there can be no doubt that the S. D. F. will ultimately join with the larger current of the labor movement. In the meantime it is worth remembering that it is the Labor Party which has made Socialism a national issue in England.

Germany. In an article which has been widely discussed and quoted a writer in the London Spectator comments on what he calls German Disillusionment. For years the Germans have been hypnotized by the spirit of imperialism. From their colonial aggressions, their imposing army, their industrial conquests, they expected some great national good—just what, has remained rather vague. Now they have achieved a sort of national greatness, and a majority of them are waking up to the fact that they get little out of it except the privilege of paying taxes. In this connection Vorwaerts publishes a number of illuminating articles. During the past ten years, it appears from figures given in these articles, the cost of the necessities of life has been steadily rising. Since 1900 the price of wheat and potatoes has increased more than 25 per cent. This increase, more alarming than a similar phenomenon in America, seems to be due to new tariff rates and the monopolizing of industry. That there has been no corresponding increase in wages goes without saying. The Prussian government has just refused to raise the slender salaries of its employees. The most disheartening feature of the situation, from the standpoint of the bourgeois statesmen and economists, is that Germany faces an industrial crisis similar to our own. Already production is being limited, and captains of industry are instituting such "economies" as reduction of wages and the discharge of workmen.

The last echoes of the electoral reform demonstrations are dying away. On April 16th the captured demonstrators were sentenced to various fines and terms of imprisonment. Socialists are making an interesting comparison between this incident and a similar one which occurred in 1894. In both cases it turned out that police spies did

their utmost to induce the crowds to riot. In 1894 these spies were obliged to make a clean breast of the affair and the prisoners got off with a light sentence; in 1908 the police commissioner forbade his men to testify against the department and the prisoners were given the limit. Still more significant is the fact that in 1894 numerous bourgeois papers gave unprejudiced accounts of the "riot," while in 1908 all of them represented the demonstrators as malicious law-breakers. Within fourteen years the lines of the class-struggle have grown infinitely sharper.

There are other signs to prove that the conflict between bourgeois and proletarian, between progress and reaction, is growing more and more definite and bitter. Old-fashioned liberalism, the sort that asserted itself in the Revolution of 1848, has had its death-warrant signed. This political faith has been represented by the faction known as the Free-Thinkers. These Free-Thinkers, appealing to the old revolutionary principle of individual liberty, have in times past fought many a battle against reaction. Even within the last few months a few of them have had hope of lining up their party with the Social Democracy in favor of electoral reform. But in a congress held recently in Frankfurt these representatives of the old liberalism were practically thrown out of the party. The lineal descendants of the revolutionists of 1848 are now permanently grouped with the *bloc-in* support of the government.

So far as the Social Democrats are concerned this development is not without its advantages. At the last election to the Landtag they gave their support to three Free-Thinkers who pledged themselves to vote for electoral reform; when it came to the test all three proved false. This has done much to clear the ground for the campaign which is now on. On June 3rd are to be chosen the electors who will select the members of the new Landtag. As was explained in this department last month, the Socialists can secure little representation, no matter how large their vote. All they hope to do is to make an impression upon the public consciousness. But their campaign activities are heroic. Everywhere and in every manner conceivable the injustice of the three-class electoral system is being exposed. Socialists the world over will await eagerly reports of the outcome of the conflict.

The Association law outlined in the April number of the Review has been passed by the Reichstag. In a few respects the government was forced to amend it. In its final form, for example, it permits the use of foreign languages in international congresses, in political meetings and generally in parts of the country where 60 per cent of the inhabitants speak some language other than German.

Holland. During the Easter holidays four Socialist conventions were held, at all of which vital questions of policy came up for discussion. At the fourteenth convention of the Social Democratic Party of Holland, held at Arnheim, it was the place of parliamentarism in the party program and, more particularly, the management of the party press and the actions of the Socialist group in Parliament, which were under examination. The leaders were charged with laying too much stress on politics and too little on industrialism, with exchanging favors with bourgeois statesmen and failing to support the Socialist cause in other countries. The men attacked, especially Comrade W. H. Vliegen, editor of *Het Volk*, defended themselves triumphantly and were acquitted by a vote of 204 to 86. The task for which the party is now gathering its forces is a campaign in favor of universal suffrage. Reports submitted indicated a very satisfactory increase in numbers and activities.

Belgium. In Belgium the great problem of the hour is the proposed annexation of the Congo Free State. And the attitude of the Socialist group of deputies to this problem was the chief matter for debate in the convention of the party which was held in Brussels. The deputies themselves, including Comrade Vandervelde, are in favor of annexation but opposed to the specific measure presented by the government. The convention decided after a long discussion that any colonial policy is unsocialistic and that therefore it would organize a propaganda against annexation. The deputies expressed their willingness to submit to the dictates of the party.

Austria. The fifteenth convention of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary met at Budapest. Reports of the proceedings go to show that Hungarian Socialism has reached a crucial stage in its development. The government of the province is in the hands of feudalistic agrarians. They leave no stone unturned in their effort to hinder not only the spread of Socialism but even the growth of modern industrial life. As in Holland and Denmark and Prussia, the problem of the hour is electoral reform. It has lately been discovered that the imperial government plans to fob off on the people a pseudo-reform measure. And now the Social Democratic Party, as the only representative of popular interests, is preparing for the greatest struggle of its existence. It made a good beginning last October when on the same day it made demonstrations in 191 cities and towns. New provincial organizations are being formed and literature is being distributed as never before. There is a good deal of talk of the general strike as the ultimate weapon.

German Poland. The eleventh convention of the Polish citizens of Germany met at Kattowitz. The chief subject discussed was the method of co-operating with the German comrades against the tyrannous measures of the German government.

Australia. These are lively times in Australia. The Socialists and the Laborites wage vigorous war for the support of the proletariat. The Laborites already exercise a strong political influence. In certain provinces they are actually in the majority, they control numerous municipalities, and everywhere they have made the problem of labor and capital the chief political issue. They have not yet formally recognized Socialism as their objective, but their leaders, and especially their journalists, are constantly preaching Socialism, and Socialism, too, of the genuine sort. But constituting an actual political force, the Laborites insist upon certain "immediate" reforms, the introduction of the eight-hour day, for example, and the erection of municipal slaughter-houses. And it is on this point, the demand for "palliatives," that the Socialists raise their issue. Our comrades in Australia differ from us in that they absolutely refuse to incorporate into their platform a program of reforms. This policy is vigorously defended by *The Socialist* of Melbourne, *The International Socialist Review* of Sydney, and *The Flame* of Broken Hill. The other side is represented by *Barrier Truth*, also published at Broken Hill, one of the mining centers. It argues that the Laborites with their insistence on "palliatives" are working along the line of evolution. Far from opposing Socialism, this paper insists that its own doctrines are the only ones to which Socialists can look for substantial advances. This position it supports with quotations from Marx and Engels. The situation is complicated just at present by the introduction of the I. W. W. In a land where labor unions have long been class conscious and actively political a form of organization which demands no political expression is naturally received with a good deal of suspicion.



WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

The renomination of Debs and Hanford by the National Convention of the Socialist Party last month is meeting with universal satisfaction among the progressive and thinking element in organized labor and favorable comments are appearing in increasing number in the labor press. The opinion is expressed on all sides that Debs is pretty nearly the embodiment of this year's issues, as labor questions are bound to be injected in the campaign, much as the Democratic bunco-steerers would delight to sidetrack all economic discussion and revive the old tariff humbug. Bryan has never had much of a fling on the tariff trapeze, the greatest straddling scheme ever invented, but judging from his past performances he is about due to give us an exhibition of his versatility in this line. The peerless one has juggled the silver and injunction issues, imperialism, government railways and initiative and referendum, trusts, etc., and then carefully packed those toys away and is now backing up to the Grover Cleveland brand of safe and sane statesmanship. The poor man wants to be President at any cost, and if tariff agitation is too strong to suit "the interests" he may yet spring the momentous issue as to whether or not there are warts on the back of the neck of the man in the moon.

On the other hand, if Taft is the nominee on the Republican ticket or the convention is stampeded to Roosevelt, as many have been predicting, is immaterial, for Debs will confront either and force them on the defensive. Taft's literary henchmen point with pride to the fact that the fat man's decision in the Phelan case, while he was on the Federal bench, served as the basis for the opinion handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the Debs case, which sent the American Railway Union officials to the Woodstock jail, and subverted the right of free speech to government by injunction, the tyrannical weapon with which capitalism has mercilessly pursued the organized workers of this country for more than a dozen years. Should Roosevelt be nominated for a third term there will be a good many "undesirable citizens" who will want some further explanations on many of his public and private acts relating to labor questions from the gentleman who is credited by the Parryites with being "the father of the open shop."

Ben Hanford, Debs' running mate, is also an able orator, clear thinker and exceedingly popular with organized workingmen, especially in the eastern section of the country. That he will outclass his opponents on the old party tickets in every particular except boodle-getting will be quickly discovered by any person who cares to make comparisons.

I have personally met scores of people, before and since the nomination—and not all in the working class ranks, either—who declared themselves for Debs as their choice for President no matter who were nominated by the old parties. Not all understand the principles of socialism—it is doubtful whether all will comprehend the principles of socialism even when the co-operative commonwealth is inaugurated—but they are in sympathy with the working class' struggle and desire to give practical assistance, and naturally want as much company as possible. Hence these newcomers are wishing for a million Socialist Party votes this year.

This reminds me that a man in Chicago informed me that some time ago he attended a banquet in Washington, at which were present Mr. Mallock, the British Socialist-smasher, and a number of bankers, manufacturers, editors and other "best" citizens, including several high government officials. The discussion turned to the growth of socialism and, my informant tells me, the 400,000 votes polled by the Socialist Party four years ago created more genuine anxiety and alarm than the 2,000,000 votes cast by the Populists at the height of their power. "Fancy the state of mind the gentlemen at Washington will be in if you fellows make good and poll a million votes this year!"

And why shouldn't the Socialist Party roll up a million votes in 1908? At no time in the country's history has labor found itself in a more critical period. What with the heaping burdens upon the workers' back, with Congress turning a deaf ear to all appeals for relief, with the industrial system demoralized by the frenzied financiers, with the open shop fanatics declaring war all along the line upon those workers who dare to organize for mutual protection, and with many other minor problems confronting the laboring class, it is beyond comprehension how any thoughtful workingman can cast a vote for either old party, and thus write himself down as being satisfied with the conditions that injure and oppress him.

Debs and Hanford ought to poll at least a million votes!

And what would not a million votes signify?

A million Socialist votes would throw the fear of God into the hearts of every plutocratic tyrant and trust oppressor in the United States!

A million Socialist votes would mean the striking of a blow that would be heard around the world!

A million Socialist votes would cause the old dry bones at Washington to rattle as they have not rattled since the election of Lincoln!

A million Socialist votes would start the wheels of Congress and State Legislatures revolving to grind out concessions in fear and dread that two million might follow at the next election!

A million Socialist votes would mean the modification of the injunction evil "voluntarily" by the judicial usurpers who are in contempt of the people!

A million Socialist votes would sound as the thunderous roar of an awakening working class to the ears of the Parrys and Posts and Van Cleaves and compel them to scurry for cover to avoid retributive lightning!

A million Socialist votes would blanch the cheeks of every Pinkerton thug and Hessian hireling and pronounce the doom of the strike-breaking industry!

A million Socialist votes would make the working class con-

scious of its own strength and virility, and would send the sunshine of hope into every hovel and sweating hell in the land.

A million Socialist votes would sound the tocsin that the working class had repudiated the Pharaoh of capitalism and was preparing to march into the promised land of the co-operative commonwealth, where there will be no economic injustice, suffering and sorrow, but where equal rights and opportunities will be the order and the brotherhood of man practically applied.

Every working man who has heretofore voted with the old parties should study the present economic conditions, his party principles and leaders, and the probable developments of the future before he decides definitely how to vote this year. Unfortunately labor has "thrown away" its vote too long and is now reaping the consequences. But lost ground can yet be recovered, although in no other manner than by rolling up at least a million votes for Debs and Hanford.

And every Socialist party member and voter and sympathizer should redouble his efforts to secure at least one recruit and the million mark will be reached quite handily. Hold meetings, circulate literature, talk to your neighbors, your friends and relatives and shopmates, and never overlook a chance to gain a convert for the cause in which we are enlisted. The names of Debs and Hanford stand for socialism in our time, and these leaders should receive and have a right to expect our most loyal and hearty support.

Several months ago it was stated in this department that if the vessel owners and dock owners of the Great Lakes insisted upon forcing the open shop system upon the seamen and longshoremen the latter might accept the situation generally, but that they had a card up their sleeves that could and doubtless would be played quite effectually. The employers passed resolutions in favor of the open ship and open dock and were successful in driving their employees to tentatively agree to abide by the edict, but there was no time limit or other usual conditions stipulated, the masters fearing that to treat with the men collectively might be interpreted as a recognition of the unions. Therefore, the individual contract idea was exploited among some of the employees, those classed as the "most desirable," while the others were given less consideration than so much junk.

Now the employees are beginning to show their teeth. At a number of points along the lakes they have returned their individual contracts and walked out on strike, and union officers announce that the men, having no agreement to bind them, reserve unto themselves the right to cease work or not, as they may choose, and wherever they like. This decision has plunged the capitalistic side of the marine interests into a condition somewhat chaotic. The vessel and dock owners are in the dark as to when or where their employees are likely to strike. They may or may not secure cargoes at one end of the lake and find trouble in transporting to or unloading them at the other end. To enlist a small army of strike-breakers, pay and feed and house them and transport them from one port to another is an expensive undertaking and may wipe out the margin of profits that they hoped for this year. Several local strikes have occurred at Lake Erie ports and they are interpreted as warnings of a coming storm. Hence some of the vessel owners, in order to get their bearings, make the announcement that shipping will be delayed until

the first of July, doubtless hoping that their employes will have become hungry enough by that time to remain at work and forego the inauguration of a general guerilla warfare.

If the vessel owners and dock managers imagined that their pronouncement for the open shop would result in stampeding the workers out of their organizations they were very much mistaken. If anything, the workers are more determined than ever to maintain their unions, and in fact the hostility of the bosses has aroused a great deal of bitterness among some of the men. They look upon the attack against their organizations at this time as being cowardly and unfair, and they are obstinately refusing to please their kind masters by dropping out of their unions. The upshot of the whole controversy may, before long, bring about what the industrialists have been looking for, namely, a close federation of all the marine and transport crafts. A compact and well-disciplined alliance on the lakes would wield immense power, and in the very nature of things would have many advantages that strictly land trades do not possess. Whether it will require a long, bitter, struggle between masters and men to bring this condition about only the future can reveal.

Political action is now the shibboleth of organized labor from one end of the country to the other. In some places the unions are voting to act with the Socialist Party, in others they favor starting parties of their own, and in still others they seem to favor endorsing candidates placed in the field by existing parties who are considered friendly to the workers. While there may be doubts as to the wisdom of the unionists in localities where they are still inclined to flirt with capitalistic politicians, still the signs of awakening that are seen on every hand are encouraging. Once they begin to read and think a distinct advance has been made and it is only a matter of time when they will hit the right trail. Heretofore it has been a difficult matter to get union men to listen, but now many of them have plenty of time to consider arguments presented relating to economic problems and they display a sincere desire to learn the cause and cure of industrial depression, hostile court decisions, refusal of legislative bodies to extend relief, and so forth. The decision of Congress against enacting an anti-injunction law and passing the amendments to the Sherman anti-trust law to protect trade unions and their funds destroyed the last hope of the most conservative element to obtain the slightest recognition. Now it is politics from one end of the country to the other, and even if there is confusion for a time the indications are that the Socialist Party will profit immensely by the turn affairs have taken.

NEWS & VIEWS

Peonage in Mexico. Not long ago a company in Sonora, Mexico, sent an American over the Fuerte River to hire men to work for them on a ditch. These Mexicans were to receive fifty cents a day. The American was offered fifty cents for every man he induced to come over. He was also given money for feeding these men and teams to be used on the road returning. I advised him that he would be regarded as an enemy of the Dons, since all the men upon the banks of the river are peons; but he felt certain that the Dons, themselves, would not take offense since he meant only to offer work to idle men. A few days later the dead body of the American was found upon the roadside. A Don is lord over his ranch or his business in deed as well as in word. Many men peon themselves because they are then sure of the given amount of corn every week. They earn from four, six and eight pesos per month. The patron, or Don, buys the labor power of the peon, who is required to agree to work at whatsoever his master chooses, to the best of his ability, any length of time required. Many work from eighteen to twenty hours a day. The patrons have so often cruelly misused the peons that the government was forced to enact a law for their protection. This law for the government of peons was to be posted in the construction room, or at a conspicuous place where all might read. But I have known cases where the Dons shot down a peon and were punished only by a small fine. I do not think the testimony of a thousand peons against a Don would affect the mind of a judge. The Dons uphold the government and the government, in turn, gives them full swing. A Don likes to have many peons, because in all governmental matters he is allowed to cast a vote in the name of each of them.—**From a subscriber in Mexico.**

Dedication of New Socialist's Hall at Ironwood, Mich. From May the first to the third, inclusive, the Finnish comrades held three days of festivities in dedication to their new hall, to the emancipation of the working class. The hall or Labor Temple, which has been in construction for some time, is a splendid tribute to the energy, intelligence and sacrifice of Ironwood Local, which is almost wholly composed of Finnish comrades, and they deserve great credit for their noble effort.

The hall is situated almost in the heart of the city, near the depot, and easily accessible to all portions of the town. It is a large building of modern architecture and one that strikes the attention of the pedestrians as soon as they enter the city.

On entering the building the slightest observation reveals the

fact that much pains have been taken to make everything safe and comfortable. The interior is very excellently arranged for entertainment purposes. The main hall, which has a seating capacity of between eight and nine hundred and possibly a thousand if slightly crowded, is provided with a good stage platform and modern stage equipment. The entrance is provided with large swinging doors, besides extra exits with red lights above them as indicators in case of fire.

On the upper floors are large rooms for serving suppers, having modern kitchen appliances; also spacious closets for hanging wearing apparel, racks being provided and numbered for hats, satchels, etc. The rooms are finished in different colors, with red and blue predominant. The wainscoting, doors and wood work are mostly all finished in a beautiful shade of weathered oak. The spacious cellar, with cement walls and floors, is finely laid out for steam heating plant, gymnasium, bathrooms and is already equipped with excellent toilet arrangements.

Everything from the cellar up shows harmony of arrangement and faithfulness to detail, reflecting nothing but credit upon the energy and ability of those whose hearts, beating in sympathy with their fellowmen, have successfully reared a home for the entertainment and education of the working class in Ironwood.

This grand achievement, consummated by a comparatively few of the total working class of that city, is a standing example of what could be done if the laboring millions would forget their national boundaries, petty superstitions, selfish politics, and band themselves together as one universal brotherhood against the one common enemy of mankind, CAPITALISM.

W. J. ROBERTS,

Ishpeming.

It Was a Joke. Last month we published a short announcement by Ben Lichtenberg under the heading "Hebrew Socialist Fellowship." He writes us that the notice was intended as a joke, but that most of the papers which copied it took it seriously, one looking forward toward the formation of the H. S. F. with apprehension, and another extending a welcome and promising its aid. The editor must own that he was himself misled by the plausible way in which the notice read. It was absurd, of course, yet no more absurd than many things written in all seriousness by new converts to socialism of other creeds and races, and we had not enough personal knowledge of Comrade Lichtenberg to give him credit for that rather unusual possession, a sense of humor. We trust that he will accept this apology, and that the moral of the incident will not be lost on the next Socialist who thinks of starting another Fellowship or Association.

Better Organization Methods. On Monday, May 18, the day following the adjournment of the National Socialist Convention, an informal meeting of state secretaries was held at national headquarters. Many secretaries gave interesting reports of their work, their methods and their problems. It was suggested that some regular means of communication between state secretaries should be provided, and the editor of the Review made an announcement, which he desires to repeat here, namely, that letters from state secretaries and organizers suggesting improved methods of propaganda and organization will be welcomed for the News and Views department of this magazine.

How to Make a Local Meeting Interesting. One obstacle to the growth of the party organization, in both new and old territory, is that the regular weekly or fortnightly meetings are too often taken up with a prolonged discussion of trivial and uninteresting business, so that newcomers are repelled. H. G. Tersliner, State Secretary of Tennessee, makes this suggestion: "In answer to question how to make the meeting interesting when no speaker is at hand, I would suggest the reading of good Socialist books or the speeches of Socialist orators. A reader should be selected, a chapter read and then discussed. This discussion always arouses interest and trains those participating in public speaking. Try this, comrades; make your business short, then take turns reading. You will soon develop speakers in that way."

Giving Both Sides a Hearing. Lincoln Braden, who evidently lives on the Pacific slope, but omits to give his address, congratulates us on our new idea of open discussion. He is furthermore particularly pleased with the article by Cameron H. King on Asiatic Exclusion, and particularly displeased with the article by H. S. Victorson on the same subject. He says that after a workingman has "carried his blanket" past thousands of his "brother" Japs, who are holding the jobs formerly held by himself and his friends, it knocks the theories out of his head that he has held on the subject of Japanese Immigration; he says it is all very well to love the Japs as ourselves, but rather unhealthy upon our wives and our children.

Under-Fed School Children.—As a result of the statements made by Robert Hunter in his *Poverty*, and John Spargo in his *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, concerning the physical condition of school children in this country, a number of prominent New York reformers and philanthropic workers formed the Committee for the Physical Welfare of School Children, and undertook an extensive investigation into the subject. It is a well-known fact that the committee expected to discredit the estimates made by the writers referred to. It will be remembered that Hunter asserted that there were some 70,000 under-fed children in the public schools of New York City. Spargo took up the question and carried it very much further, coming to the conclusion that at least two million children in the public schools of the nation are underfed more or less seriously, and a great many more in need of medical attention. The Committee on the Physical Welfare of School Children had some 1400 children, from various districts—not the poorest, either—examined by a staff of medical inspectors. If the results noted in these districts are typical, as they may well be, there must be 1,248,000 children in the public schools of the nation suffering from malnutrition, that is to say, from the starvation disease. They are not merely underfed, but the under-feeding has been chronic and serious enough to set up a disease—the disease of hunger! The committee's report further indicates that there are probably 12,000,000 children in the schools needing medical attention! Of course, these results are worse than Hunter and Spargo ever charged.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

SOCIALIST BOOKS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

We have started on the greatest campaign in the history of American socialism. Capitalism is breaking down: it can no longer feed and employ its slaves. Millions of working men and working women who know that something is wrong and that both the old parties stand for things as they are, will listen this year for the first time to the Socialist message.

No speaker, however able, can transform an inquirer into a clear-headed Socialist. Nothing but books will do it, and only the right kind of books. They must be readable, and they must state the principles of socialism clearly, so that the man who read them approvingly will want to work with the Socialist Party and will have no use for reforms.

The Common Sense of Socialism, by John Spargo, is recognized by friends and enemies alike as the best Socialist propaganda book that has yet appeared. For example, the Buffalo Evening News says: "It discusses what the author regards as socialism with an ease, a mastery of the subject from his point of view, that leaves nothing to be desired. . . . Mr. Spargo is not bitter about it and therein his book is a comparatively pleasant one. . . . He is radical enough to suit the Socialists and not violent enough to repel the reader who may look into his book for information on the subject." Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 25 cents.

The Socialists, Who They Are and What They Stand For. This briefer work by John Spargo has had a sale of seven thousand copies in a cloth edition at 50 cents, and we shall this month issue a paper edition at ten cents, which will be the best propaganda book at this price in the English language.

Value, Price and Profit. Marx himself is often pleasanter reading than his interpreters, and this short work is the clearest and best statement in any language of his theory of Surplus Value, which shows just how it is that the capitalist gets most of what the laborer produces. This book has heretofore been obtainable only in the edition of the S. L. P. We have now issued a much better edition, in large type and cloth binding, at 50 cents, and shall this month issue a paper edition at 10 cents.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels, is one of the few books that must be read to arrive at a clear understanding of the modern Socialist movement. In 1900 we published the first complete American edition of this book, and the plates have been worn out in printing many editions. We have now made new plates, in larger and clearer type, and the new paper edition retailing at 10 cents will be ready this month.

Other 10-cent books which should be sold at Socialist meetings everywhere are the **Communist Manifesto**, by Marx and Engels; **Merrie England**, by Robert Blatchford; **Class Struggles in America**,

by A. M. Simons; **The Socialist Movement**, by Charles H. Vail; **The State and Socialism**, by Gabriel Deville; **Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism**, by Gabriel Deville, and **Crime and Criminals**, by Clarence S. Darrow. One each of these ten books, with a credit slip for forty cents to apply on a share of stock, will be mailed to any address for one dollar.

The Pocket Library of Socialism. This is a series of five-cent books, sixty different titles, each 32 pages and cover, just the right size to slip into a letter and light enough to enclose without making extra postage. Some of the recent additions to the series are **Where We Stand, Forces that Make for Socialism** and **A Socialist View of Mr. Rockefeller**, by John Spargo; **What Socialists Think**, by Charles H. Kerr; **Socialism and Slavery**, by H. M. Hyndman; **History and Economics**, by J. E. Sinclair, and **Industry and Democracy**, by Lewis J. Duncan. We shall also publish at once in this library the **National Socialist Platform of 1908**, with some of the most important resolutions adopted by the National Convention. A full set of the sixty books, or sixty copies assorted as desired, will be mailed to any address for a dollar, and with them a credit slip for forty cents, good toward the purchase of a share of stock.

SOCIALIST BOOK BULLETIN.

We have lately published a new book bulletin, not in newspaper form like the last two issues, but in the shape of the Review, and printed on super-calendered book paper, with portraits of Marx, Liebknecht, Lafargue, Labriola, Ferri, and a number of American Socialist writers. In it are full descriptions of all our books, nearly a hundred in cloth binding besides nearly a hundred pamphlets. Every reader of the Review who has not already received a copy of this bulletin should ask for it.

HOW TO GET BOOKS AT COST.

The authorized capital stock of the publishing house is \$50,000, divided into 5,000 shares at \$10.00 each. Of these 2,780 have been sold, leaving 2,220 in the treasury subject to sale. The stock draws no dividends, but every stockholder has the privilege of buying any book published by us at half the retail price if he pays the expressage, or at 40 per cent discount if we pay it.

Most of those who subscribe for stock find it difficult to raise the sum of \$10.00 at one time, and we have decided for that reason to return to our original plan of selling stock in monthly instalments of a dollar each, and to allow the subscriber to buy books at a discount while making his monthly payments.

Remember that by subscribing for a share of stock you are not only getting more and better Socialist literature for yourself than you could obtain for the same money in any other way; you are also making it possible to publish and circulate more books on socialism. The money received from the sale of stock is not used to pay deficits; there is no deficit. It is not used to pay dividends; no dividends are paid. It is not used to pay fancy salaries; no one connected with the publishing house gets more than the value of his labor power. It is used to provide the capital for bringing out new Socialist books. If you Socialists do not provide this capital, it will not be provided, for capitalists are not benevolent enough to subscribe money to be used against their own interests.

We have built up the largest Socialist book publishing house in the world from these ten-dollar subscriptions. We must have more of them if we are to keep on growing. How about yourself?